

BEING MORE OKINAWAN IN HAWAI'I:  
OKINAWAN IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT AMONG OKINAWAN UNIVERSITY AND  
COLLEGE STUDENTS THROUGH ACTIVITIES, LEARNING, INTERACTIONS, AND  
EXPERIENCES IN HAWAI'I

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

August 2019

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Keywords: Okinawan identity, identity development, international students, grounded theory

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to express my appreciation to all the participants who spent their precious time and shared their experiences with me for this research. Without their contributions, I would not have been able to conduct this research. Their shared experiences are valuable for not only academia but also Okinawan communities.

I am deeply indebted to my dissertation advisor, Professor Lois Yamauchi, and committee members, Professors Joyce Chinen, Julie Kaomea, Katherine Ratliffe, and Tasha Wyatt. I appreciate my advisor's patience, feedback, and guidance to complete this research. Her academic, as well as personal support, made me persevere and be consistent to accomplish my goal. My committee members' expertise inspired me to develop and conduct this research. Their insights served as driving forces in me to explore my interests and keep working on this research.

Lastly, I would like to thank my mother, Kyoko Taira. She gave me an opportunity to come to Hawai'i to learn and experience, while she was struggling. She allowed me to pursue my interests, while she was shouldering burdens that I could have alleviated. Because of her long-time patience and efforts, I was able to start and finish my pursuit.

## **Abstract**

Ryukyu was a former state in East Asia. The Ryukyuan royal government located on Okinawa Island ruled islands in the southwestern area of Japan. However, Japan annexed Ryukyu and established Okinawa Prefecture in 1879. In this position of Okinawa as part of Japan, residents in contemporary Okinawa have complex identities as Okinawan and Japanese. The purpose of this study was to investigate a process of Okinawan identity development among Okinawan university and college students in Hawai‘i. I employed a grounded theory approach for my research inquiry. Nineteen Okinawan university and college students were interviewed about their self-descriptions, spaces where their Okinawan consciousness was provoked, and influences of activities and learning regarding Okinawa and Hawai‘i on their Okinawan identity. The results showed the core category of “being more Okinawan in Hawai‘i” subsumed all the other concepts regarding self-identification, consciousness, and identity as Okinawan, and the foundational and developmental phases, such as self-identification as Okinawan in Hawai‘i, Okinawan identity consciousness and identity salience, and a strengthened sense of Okinawan identity. The interrelations of the constructed concepts and phases delineated the process of Okinawan identity development among Okinawan university and college students in Hawai‘i. The results also revealed that the history, society, and culture of Okinawans in Hawai‘i, as well as those of Hawaiians, were important aspects of Okinawan self-identification, consciousness, and identity development. Thus, some of the constructed concepts were integrated into the contexts of Okinawans in Hawai‘i, as well as the historical, social, cultural, and political contexts in Hawai‘i, in order to make sociocultural influences explicit.

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## Chapter 1

### Introduction

Some scholars have discussed Okinawan, Ryukyuan, and Uchinaanchu<sup>1</sup> identities regarding history and politics (M. Ōta, 1980; Sakashita, 2017; Siddle, 2003; Smits, 1999; Koji Taira, 1997), policies (Oguma, 2014), social surveys (Kuniyoshi, 1998; Lim, 2010), communities in Hawai‘i (Kaneshiro, 2002; Ueunten, 1989), study abroad experiences in the United States and Hawai‘i (Yamazato, 2013), and Okinawan university students studying in Hawai‘i (Kazufumi Taira & Yamauchi, 2018). Their studies revealed that Okinawan, Ryukyuan, and Uchinaanchu identities are complex and situational, and fluctuate depending on history, international relations, politics, societies, and social contexts. With the notion of identity as dynamic, complex, and situational, I conducted research on Okinawan identity.

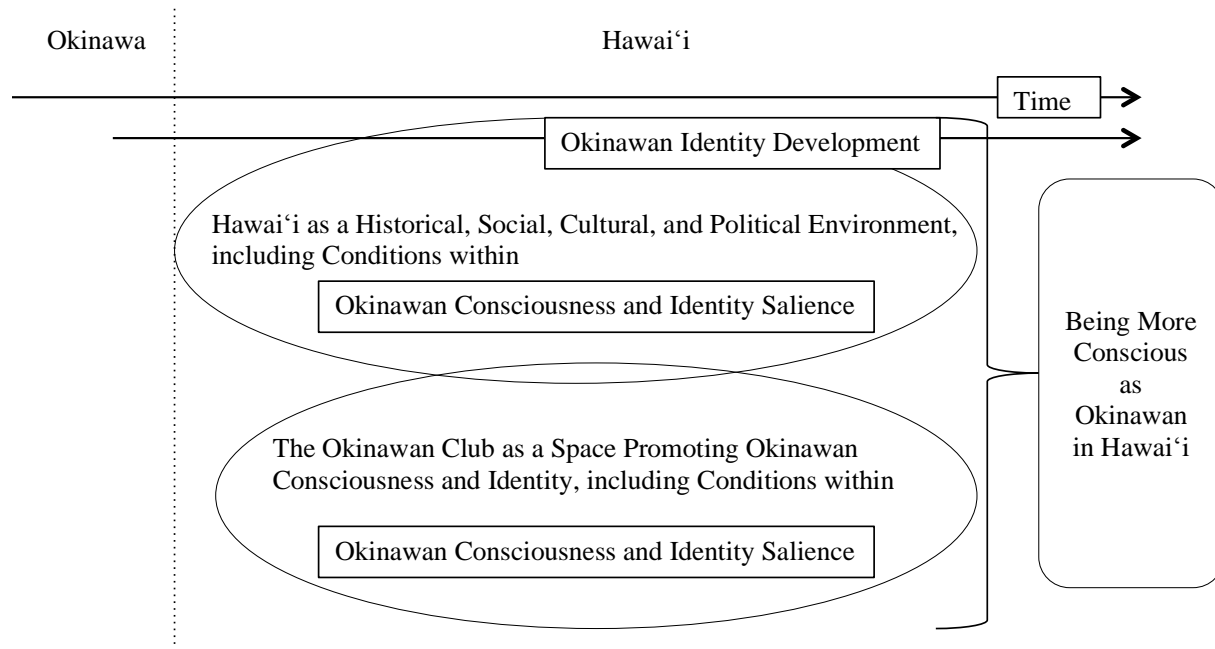
The purpose of this study was to investigate Okinawan identity among Okinawan university and college students in Hawai‘i, by building on my previous research on Okinawan consciousness and identity salience and development among Okinawan international students in Hawai‘i (Kazufumi Taira & Yamauchi, 2018). In my previous study, I constructed the core category of “being more conscious as Okinawan in Hawai‘i” within the contexts of “Hawai‘i as a historical, social, cultural, and political environment” and “Okinawan Club as a space promoting Okinawan consciousness and identity.” Based at one of the universities in Hawai‘i, the Okinawan Club<sup>2</sup> was a group where members learned about Okinawa through activities,

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<sup>1</sup> Uchinaanchu refers to Okinawan people in Okinawan vernacular speech. Basically, I used “Okinawan” and “Okinawa” in the period after Japan’s annexation of Ryukyu and establishment of Okinawa Prefecture in 1879, and “Ryukyuan” and “Ryukyu” in the period before that incident. I employed “Ryukyuan,” “Ryukyu,” and “Uchinaanchu” when the authors of literature I reviewed used these designations and when the research participants mentioned “Uchinaanchu.”

<sup>2</sup> The club name is pseudonym.

participation in cultural events, and interactions. The results showed that Okinawan university students became more conscious of themselves as Okinawan in these contexts. Figure 1 presents the visual representations of this phenomenon, and Table 1 lists the constructed conditions, categories, and subcategories with regard to Okinawan consciousness and identity salience within the contexts.



*Figure 1.* The integrative diagram of being more conscious as Okinawan in Hawai'i. Reprinted from "Okinawan Consciousness and Identity Salience and Development Among Okinawan University Students Studying in Hawai'i," by Kazufumi Taira and L. A. Yamauchi, 2018, *Journal of International Students*, 8(1), 431–452. Copyright 2018 by Journal of International Students.

Table 1

*Contexts, Conditions, Categories, and Subcategories Regarding Okinawan Consciousness and Identity Salience*

Hawai‘i as a historical, social, cultural, and political environment		
Condition	Category	Subcategory
Being in a culturally and ethnically diverse environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Being not-the-majority</li> </ul>	
Okinawans and Okinawan cultures in Hawai‘i	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Okinawan events and activities</li> <li>• People’s recognition of Okinawans</li> <li>• Interactions with Okinawan descendants</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Accessibility to being Okinawan</li> </ul>
Learning about Hawaiians	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Encountering strong Hawaiian identity</li> </ul>	
The Okinawan Club as a space promoting Okinawan consciousness and identity		
Condition	Category	Subcategory
Space to be able to express Okinawan identity		
Increased opportunities to think and learn about Okinawa		
Teaching others about Okinawa		
Interacting with club members	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recognition</li> <li>• Responsibility</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Indifference to Okinawan cultures and issues</li> <li>• Be interested in Okinawan issues and politics</li> </ul>
Taking a role as a representative of Okinawa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Responsibility</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Know more about Okinawa</li> <li>• Make Okinawa visible</li> </ul>
Sharing cultural heritage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sharing dialect and intonation</li> </ul>	
Cultural activities		

The contexts of “Hawai‘i as a historical, social, cultural, and political environment” and “the Okinawan Club as a space promoting Okinawan consciousness and identity,” subsumed the

conditions (e.g., “Okinawans and Okinawan cultures in Hawai‘i,” “learning about Hawaiians,” and “interacting with club members”) that explained how Okinawan university students in Hawai‘i felt that they were more conscious as Okinawan. The categories and subcategories were more specific concepts that depicted Okinawan consciousness and identity salience within the conditions.

In order to enhance the concepts that were constructed in the previous research, the current study specifically aimed to examine a process of Okinawan identity development by delving into developmental aspects of students’ Okinawan identities, identifying spaces where Okinawan university and college students became more conscious as Okinawan, and investigating how activities and learning regarding Okinawa and Hawai‘i could influence students’ Okinawan identities.

Before describing the details of the current research, in the next section, I provide a brief history of Ryukyu and Okinawa, and Japanese influence through education. The history section serves to contextualize the historical, international, political, and social dynamics and complexities of identities in Ryukyu and Okinawa.

### **A Brief History of Ryukyu/Okinawa**

This section starts with a theory of macro cultural psychology to highlight the important role of macro factors of society in psychology. Psychology is interconnected with macro factors, such as history, politics, administrative systems, economy, international relations, and the like. Inspired by Vygotsky’s sociocultural psychology, Bronfenbrenner’s ecological psychology, and work in sociology, anthropology, history, and geography, Ratner (2012) conceptualized macro cultural psychology. In his model of macro cultural psychology, Ratner (2012) suggested the

crucial role of culture in psychological phenomena. He proposed the major postulates of macro cultural psychology as follows:

(a) psychology is implicated in forming, maintaining, and participating in culture; (b) culture is primarily macro cultural factors such as social institutions, artifacts, and cultural concepts (of time, wealth, childhood, privacy), (c) therefore, psychological phenomena have properties that are geared toward forming, maintaining, and participating in macro cultural factors; and [(d) therefore, understanding psychology scientifically requires understanding macro cultural factors that are the basis, locus, objectives, mechanisms, features, and function of psychological phenomena. (Ratner, 2012, p. x)

Ratner claimed that, principles and forces that influence macro cultural factors affect psychological phenomena (Ratner, 2012). Macro cultural factors form the origin, basis, stimulus, genesis, locus, telos, characteristics, operational mechanism, function (*raison d'être*), and objectification of psychological phenomena. Macro cultural factors structure people's minds and behaviors. It is important to note that psychology is not an entity that exists independent from macro cultural factors, but "psychology *is* a macro cultural phenomenon" (Ratner, 2012, p. 141). Psychology incarnate features of macro cultural factors. Macro cultural factors are deterministic and determinable by people at the same time. Moreover, psychological phenomena are political. The macro cultural psychology approach to psychological phenomena investigates political features and consequences that macro cultural factors, which are manipulated by certain interest groups for their own benefits and power, produce. Furthermore, identity, as a psychological phenomenon, is embedded in macro cultural factors (Esteban-Guitart & Ratner, 2011).

In accordance with Ratner's theory of macro cultural psychology, I believe that it is important to look into macro cultural factors that impact and interconnect psychological phenomena. Below I introduce scholarly work on history, society, politics, and education of Ryukyu/Okinawa, as macro cultural factors that were relevant to identities in Ryukyu/Okinawa. Rather than providing details on the history of Ryukyu/Okinawa, I focus on important historical incidents regarding the formation of the Ryukyuan state, historical processes of forced incorporation of Ryukyu into the Japanese state, and Japanization through education in Okinawa after Japan's annexation of Ryukyu. At the end of this section, I summarize this history and relate it to identities in Okinawa, in an attempt to understand the influence of history on the complexities of identities among Okinawans and to provide a historical background for the literature review on identities in Ryukyu/Okinawa in Chapter 2. This serves to aid in a deeper comprehension of the research results in Chapter 4.

Takara (1993, 1980/2012) represented Ryukyuan/Okinawan history as a series of periods: (a) the Paleolithic era (–8,000 BCE); (b) the Kaizuka (shell mound) era (5,000 BCE–the 10th century); (c) Ko-Ryukyu (old Ryukyu) (the 10th century–1609), including the Gusuku (castle) period (the 10th century–the 14th century), the Sanzan (three principalities) period (the 14th century–the 15th century), the First Shō dynasty (the 15th century–1470), and the early Second Shō dynasty (1470–1609); (d) early modern Ryukyu/the late Second Shō dynasty (1609–1879); (e) modern Okinawa (1879–1945); and (f) postwar Okinawa (1945–present), including the U.S. administration period (1945–1972) and Okinawa Prefecture (1972–present). I start with the First Shō dynasty onward, and focus on education more from modern Okinawa through the U.S. administration period.

**From the First Shō dynasty onward (the 15th century–1609).** In the early 15th century, Shō Hashi conquered Chūzan (central part of Ryukyu), Sanhoku (or Hokuzan, northern part), and Sannan (or Nanzan, southern part), and unified Ryukyu (Dana, 2004).<sup>3</sup> The first unified dynasty by Shō Hashi in 1429 brought the establishment of a distinct state, “the Kingdom of Ryukyu”<sup>4</sup> (Takara, 1993, 1998, 1980/2012). Shō En ascended the throne in 1470 and was the founder of the Second Shō dynasty, and this dynasty lasted for over 400 hundred years (Dana, 2004).

The Kingdom of Ryukyu existed as a state governing the islands from the Amami area in the north to Yonaguni Island in the southwest (Tomiyama, 2004). The royal authority of Ryukyu used a government system based on local officials and a priestess system, and gained legitimacy of royal authority from the Chinese emperor through its tributary relationship<sup>5</sup> with China. That is, the fusion of the native government system and external authority formed the royal authority

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<sup>3</sup> Factual investigations regarding the unification in terms of processes, dates, and other aspects remain necessary (Dana, 2004). Ikuta (1984) proposed that the unification by Shō Hashi was a narrative, and that the situation of the Sanzan (three principalities) period continued until the centralization during Shō Shin’s reign (about 1477–1527).

<sup>4</sup> “The Kingdom of the Ryukyus” is a coined phrase (Koji Taira, 1997). Takara (2011) used “the Ryukyu Kingdom” or “the Kingdom of Ryukyu” in accordance with its feature of the royal authority as the core of its existence form that possessed a governing structure to administer and manage particular bounds, lands, territories, and people.

<sup>5</sup> Ryukyu’s tributary-investiture relationship (*chōkō-sappō kankei*) with China lasted for about 500 years until Japan’s annexation of Ryukyu (Tomiyama, 1989). King Satto of Chūzan established the first tributary relationship with Ming China, the dynasty of China from 1368 to 1644, in 1372 (Dana, 2004). The first Ryukyu’s vassal relationship with Ming China established in 1404 through the investiture of King Bunei of Chūzan (Namiyama, 2014). The investiture system was the China-centric world order: China bestowed titles on tributary states and chiefs of tribes that followed the virtues of China. The Chinese world order was an international order of nominal- and quasi-lord-vassal and hierarchical relationships between the emperor and kings in neighbor states. Under this world order, the neighbor states could ensure security and economic and cultural benefits (Namiyama, 2009).

of Ryukyu, and the Shuri<sup>6</sup> royal government supported the administrative system of the royal authority of Ryukyu (Tomiyama, 2004).

**Early modern Ryukyu/the late Second Shō dynasty (1609–1879).** In 1609, the Shimazu clan from Satsuma, one of the feudal domains in Tokugawa Japan's *bakuh*<sup>7</sup> state, invaded Ryukyu. The Shimazu army surrounded Shuri Castle, and King Shō Nei surrendered. He and a few of his retainers were taken to Edo, Japan. Although Shō Nei returned to his homeland in two years, Ryukyu was incorporated into Japan's *bakuh* state and was subjected to its political control (Uezato, 2009). As the king and his party were returning to Ryukyu, Satsuma promulgated the Fifteen Injunctions (*okite jūgo ka jō*) of 1611, stating the guidelines of Shimazu's rule over Ryukyu, and forced the king and Ryukyu's government officials to pledge their loyalty to Satsuma. In the edict of 1624, however, Shimazu transferred to the king the rights of provision of salary to officials, jurisdiction, and ritual (Kamiya, 1990). The edict prohibited Japanese customs and foreign merchants' travel to Ryukyu. This edict reflected the policy to promote Ryukyu's "independence," and position Ryukyu as a "foreign country" domestically (Kamiya, 1990).

Takara (1989) described Ryukyu's positioning after Satsuma's invasion as a "foreign country" (*ikoku*) within the *bakuh* system. While being subordinate to Satsuma and the *bakuh* system, it maintained its position as a "foreign country" (*ikoku*). Tomiyama (2004)

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<sup>6</sup> Shuri was the capital of Ryukyu.

<sup>7</sup> *Baku* represents *bakufu* meaning the shogunate, and *han* refers to feudal domains. *Shōgun* means "military dictators governing in place of the emperor who gave them their authority, while the emperor remained the spiritual leader of the Japanese nation" (Frédéric, 2002, p. 879). The *bakuh* system is the political structure that the Tokugawa house established, and under the shogunate "government organization was the result of the final maturation of the institutions of shogunal rule at the national level and of daimyo rule at the local level" (Jansen, 1995, p. 147).



described early modern Ryukyu as “the subordinate dual tributary state,” indicating that Ryukyu maintained its tributary relationship with China while having its tributary relationship with and being subordinated to Satsuma under Japan’s *bakuhan* state. Although the Ryukyu Kingdom came under Shimazu’s control and established a subordinate diplomatic relationship to Shimazu, the Ryukyu Kingdom was not a “puppet” of Shimazu, but maintained its political entity with its royal authority restricted (Tomiyama, 2004).

Despite Satsuma’s and Japan’s political interference in early modern Ryukyu, the flow of Japanese influence to Ryukyu was restricted (Smits, 1999). Initially, Satsuma attempted to Japanize Ryukyu to prevent Ryukyuan opposition to its control; however, Ryukyu’s tribute trade with China became important due to the failure of the *bakufu*’s trade negotiations with Ming China in 1615. Satsuma placed regulations to prohibit Ryukyuan from adopting certain Japanese customs, wearing Japanese hair or clothing styles, acting like Japanese, and taking Japanese names. It also forbade Japanese from going to Ryukyu. Satsuma was interested in profiting from Ryukyu’s tribute trade with China, and it was necessary to prevent Japanese influence in order to hide Japanese control from China. Ryukyu held an important position for Satsuma and Japan as a valuable source of information about China because of the *bakufu*’s limited and carefully controlled foreign relations during the Tokugawa period.

Satsuma, the *bakufu*, and even Ryukyu itself benefited from Ryukyu’s tributary relationship with Qing<sup>8</sup> China (Smits, 1999). For instance, Satsuma bolstered its prestige by ruling a foreign king and connecting China and Japan via Ryukyu. The *bakufu* enhanced and displayed its authority by periodically welcoming Ryukyuan embassies who offered congratulations to a new *shōgun* or showed gratitude to the *shōgun* for approving a new

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<sup>8</sup> The dynasty of China from 1644 to 1912.

Ryukyuan king. For Ryukyu, preserving the connection with China was the way to exist as an autonomous entity vis-a-vis Satsuma and the *bakufu*. In order to maintain these benefits, keeping physical and cultural presence of Japan away from Ryukyu was the norm. Thus, despite Satsuma's and Japan's control of Ryukyu after Satsuma's invasion in 1609, Japanization of Ryukyu's society was limited. However, Meiji Japan, the new Japanese government established in 1868, paved the way for unprecedented Japanization to grow and prevail over Ryukyu's society.

The Meiji Restoration occurred in Japan, with the fall of the Tokugawa shogunate and the emergence of the new imperial and centralized Meiji government. This centralization of power affected the situation of Ryukyu. Ryukyu's belonging to Japan through Satsuma's practical control of Ryukyu became less substantial after the abolition of the feudal domains and the establishment of the prefectures (Namihiro, 2014). Due to this structural transformation, former feudal lords' status as a lord and their feudal territorial rights were eventually abolished. Legally, the Shimazu clan's control over Ryukyu was abolished and the rationale to bring Ryukyu under Kagoshima Prefecture's, previously the Satsuma *han*, control dissolved. Furthermore, the principle of the return of the land and people from the feudal lords to the emperor did not apply to Ryukyu because of its distinct history of state formation, its own myth of the national foundation, and its own culture. However, Kagoshima Prefecture tentatively continued to administer Ryukyu.

It was necessary for the Meiji government to reorganize the relationship between Japan and Ryukyu due to these circumstances. The Meiji emperor granted a patent of investiture to

King Shō Tai, which was modeled after the traditional order and principle in East Asia,<sup>9</sup> in order to maintain and ensure the substantive control over Ryukyu. Ryukyu and the king were called Ryukyu *han* and the king of *han* after the establishment of this relationship. The essential point of this reorganization of the relation between modern Japan and the Ryukyu Kingdom involved justification and legitimate grounds for domination and rule (Namihiro, 2014).

In 1875, the Meiji government issued an order to prohibit Ryukyu from their relationship with Qing China, but the Ryukyu *han* did not follow the order. In 1876, the Meiji government notified the Ryukyu *han* to transfer jurisdiction and police clerical work to the local Office of Internal Affairs, and Ryukyu accepted the local Office of Internal Affairs' part of jurisdiction regarding people from other prefectures and police clerical work but refused a transfer of jurisdiction regarding people in the Ryukyu *han*. In 1879, Matsuda, the Chief Secretary of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, visited Ryukyu with nine accompanying officials, 32 additional officers from the branch office of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, about 160 military police, and approximately 400 soldiers, and gave a notice from the head of the Department of State to Prince Nakijin at Shuri Castle to abolish the Ryukyu *han* and establish Okinawa Prefecture on the grounds of Ryukyu's disobedience to the orders (Namihiro, 2014). This incident marked the forced annexation of Ryukyu.<sup>10</sup> Shiitada (2010) argued that this annexation of Ryukyu confiscated sovereign rights of the nation because of the following reasons: (a) the foundations of the sovereignty, such as the vacation of Shuri Castle, diplomacy, jurisdiction, and others, were confiscated without Ryukyu's agreement; (b) the king was taken to Tokyo by deception and

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<sup>9</sup> Eventually this investiture was different from the Chinese world order in terms of interference in domestic affairs and diplomatic intervention (Namihiro, 2014).

<sup>10</sup> Fija (2015) pointed out the annexation of the Ryukyuan state as territory settlement and national defense and as the first step of acquiring colonies overseas in the process of the formation of the modern Japanese state.

threat; (c) local officials were reappointed and the authority of command was reorganized under the new prefectural government; and (d) Ryukyu recognized this as confiscation of their sovereign rights of the nation and refused handover and cooperation with the new administration, but eventually suppressed by the police force.

Namihira (2014) compared modes of ruling between the West and Japan. Modern western countries colonized non-western regions that were far away from their countries for resources, and in many cases they ruled those regions by the principles of acknowledging local residents' legislative power and establishing governmental institutions in which local residents could participate. On the other hand, Japan ruled neighbor regions, such as Ryukyu, Taiwan, and Korea by adopting assimilationism to force them to import and imitate Japanese systems and cultural products. The following subsection explores how education played a role in Japan's assimilationism in Okinawa.

**Modern Okinawa (1879–1945) and assimilationism in education.** The Meiji government did not implement rapid reformation of the systems in Okinawa because they took into consideration diplomatic issues with Qing China and reactions of the ruling class in Okinawa. However, the Meiji and Okinawa Prefectural governments emphasized education to assimilate Okinawans into the Japanese national regime (H. Asato, 1983). Kondo (2006) analyzed educational policies in Okinawa's modern education from the perspective of integration and Japanization of Okinawans. The Okinawa Prefectural government's educational policy was to Japanize language and customs. The prefectural government established a facility for learning spoken Japanese in February 1880, which was the first educational institution the prefectural government founded. The facility for learning spoken Japanese became a teachers' training school in June of the same year. The main purpose of the establishment of the teachers' training

school was to develop Okinawan teachers who could Japanize language and customs. Teaching Okinawans to learn Standard Japanese was necessary to rule Okinawa because the language barrier was an obstacle to Japanese officials' controlling Okinawa.

The school enrollment rate gradually increased, and the rates in 1884 and 1907 were 2.49% and 92.81%, respectively (C. Ōta, 1932). H. Asato (1983) discussed educational policies that promoted residents of Okinawa Prefecture's interest in education and determined the direction and focus of education. He pointed out that the Meiji government's system of the imperial state and educational policies toward Okinawa reinforced the militarist regime and set the tone for the direction toward nationalist education. In addition, Japan's victory over Qing China at the first Japanese–Sino War in 1894–1895 influenced Okinawans' attitudes and mindsets (H. Asato, 1983). The pro-Qing political party in Okinawa had to move away from dependency on Qing China, and Okinawans began to express their pride as Japanese nationals. Young intellectuals and adolescents recognized the importance of national education. Okinawans' consciousness became integrated into the system of Japanese nationalism and militarism. Moreover, Japan's victory of the Japanese–Russo War in 1904–1905 promoted pride as Japanese nationals and imperial education among residents in Okinawa (H. Asato, 1983).

In October 1937, those of the Japanese who occupied high positions in Okinawa Prefecture and Okinawan leaders established the Okinawa Prefecture Executive Committee on National Spirit Total Mobilization (*kokumin seishin sōdōin Okinawaken jikkō iinkai*) (Kondo, 2006). One of the Committee's goals was to encourage Okinawans to speak in Japanese instead of Okinawan, in order to instill and boost "Japanese spirit" among Okinawans. The Committee aimed to accomplish their goals in schools and communities. The Okinawa Prefectural government mobilized an Okinawa-wide movement to promote Standard Japanese in April 1939,

and established committees for the promotion of Standard Japanese in the prefecture as well as cities, towns, and villages, in order to raise awareness among Okinawans and to oversee them. In addition, the Okinawa Prefectural government engaged in educational activities to correct “right” speech and pronunciation of Standard Japanese among teachers. Some Okinawans accepted the promotion of Standard Japanese as a way to escape discrimination by Japanese and to advance their social status. The Okinawa Prefectural government mobilized these movements because infiltration of the imperial ideology was weak in Okinawa and the promotion of Standard Japanese was connected to that ideology.

**Education under the U.S. military rule (1945–1972).** The U.S. military landed on Kerama islands, the neighbor islands of Okinawa Island, during the Pacific War on March 26, 1945 (Gabe, 1996). They announced the so-called Nimitz’s proclamation to stop Japan’s exercise of executive power in Okinawa and to establish the U.S. military government. After the surrender of Japan was announced on August 15, 1945, the Okinawa Advisory Council was established on August 29. The main role of the Advisory Council’s education unit was to consult with the director of the Navy military government education department (Ahagon, 1990). On April 22, 1946, the Okinawa Civilian Administration replaced the Advisory Council, and the Elementary School Act and its implementation regulations were announced to the public (Ahagon, 1990). The Act and its implementation regulations included the phrase “the spirit of constructing new Okinawa” and sentences that emphasized Okinawa’s separation from Japan, international cooperation, and pro-United States collaboration. The U.S. military influenced education in Okinawa under the U.S. military rule during and right after the war, and promoted education featuring Okinawa as distinct from Japan.

However, Japanese education permeated Okinawa over time. The education unit in the Government of the Ryukyu Islands standardized the curriculum in 1953, and established the Committee on Setting Educational Goals (Okinawaken Kyōiku Inikai, 1977). The education unit adopted most of the educational goals from their Japanese counterparts. The Four Educational Laws, such as the Basic Act on Education, the Law of Educational Committee, the School Education Law, and the Social Education Act, were announced on January 10, 1958 and implemented on April 1, 1959. Importantly, the insertion of the phrase “as Japanese nationals” in the Basic Act on Education clarified Okinawans’ identity as the Japanese ethnic group (Ahagon, 1990). Based on the principle of fostering Japanese nationals shown in the Basic Act on Education, the education unit in the Government of the Ryukyu Islands amended the educational curriculum in 1960, along the lines of the revisions of the curriculum in 1956 and the Courses of Study for elementary and junior high schools in 1957 in Japan (Okinawaken Kyōiku Inikai, 1977).

The Okinawa Teachers Association mobilized social movements to bolster Japanization through education. One of the social movements was the promotion of hoisting the national flag of Japan. The United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands (USCAR) did not allow people in Okinawa to hoist the national flag in schools. On June 4, 1952, the Okinawa Teachers Association petitioned USCAR to give permission for schools to hoist the national flag of Japan when schools had educational events. Also, Yara, the chairperson of the Association, submitted a petition for hoisting of the national flag of Japan to the governor of the Ryukyu Government. Part of the content of the petition was as follows:

With consciousness as Japanese having a liking for freedom, we hope that we actualize the days when we support the U.S. policy of world peace. Until the break of the day when

Okinawa reverts to Japan, we should maintain consciousness as Japanese nationals and affluent national sentiments. In order to do that, it is important to hoist the national flag of Japan, the symbol of Japan, at every event to feel closer to the flag. I believe that it is crucial for people in Ryukyu and the education circle in Okinawa. (Okudaira, 2010, p. 150)<sup>11</sup>

This statement became the basis of the social movement of the hoisting of the national flag of Japan. The Okinawa Teachers Association promoted the hoisting of the flag at homes, which did not infringe on the USCAR's ordinance for the hoisting of the national flag of Japan in facilities of the administrative agencies (Okudaira, 2010). The Okinawa Teachers Association distributed about 10,000 flags to families every year (Yara, 1968). In 1958, the principal and youth groups of the Okinawa Teachers Association launched a campaign called "Let's hoist the *Hinomaru* (*hinomaru wo tateyou*)" (Yara, 1968). *Hinomaru* refers to a circle of the sun, the symbol on Japan's national flag. As a result of these movements, hoisting the national flag of Japan was allowed in schools and public facilities after a meeting between Prime Minister Ikeda and President Kennedy on April 24, 1962.

The Okinawa Teachers' Association also engaged in a social movement for national education. After 1957, the Okinawa Teachers Association set four educational goals. One of them related to national education, which was to foster children who develop their consciousness as right Japanese (Okudaira, 2010). The phrase "right Japanese nationals" replaced "right Japanese" later. The phrase "right Japanese nationals" was used in the same way as "as Japanese nationals" in the Basic Act on Education. The principle of the movement was to actualize this goal.

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<sup>11</sup> I translated the statement written in Japanese into English.



After Okinawa reverted to the Japanese administration in 1972, Okinawa completely came under the Japanese Constitution for the first time, and the Japanese Basic Act on Education was wholly applied to Okinawa's education (Ahagon, 1990).

**Summary: The history and its relation to identities among Okinawans.** As seen in this brief history of Ryukyu/Okinawa, Ryukyu existed as a distinct state that was not under Japanese control during the early period of its history, which was indicative of a state of Ryukyu's identity. Satsuma invaded Ryukyu in 1609 and put Ryukyu under their control. While maintaining its autonomy and tributary relationship with China, Ryukyu was subordinate to Satsuma under Japan's *bakuhun* system. This ambiguous position represented Ryukyu's identity as a state maintaining its autonomy, while being subordinate to the neighbor power. After Japan's forced annexation of Ryukyu in 1879, the Japanese influences permeated Okinawan society through various means, including education. Japanese imperialism and militarism connected to education to promote nationalism and pride as Japanese nationals. The Okinawa Prefectural government promoted speaking Standard Japanese through education. This period of modern Okinawa marked the emergence and spread of Japanese consciousness and identity in Okinawa's society. Okinawa experienced U.S. military rule in and after 1945. Even under the U.S. military administration, Okinawa's education was based on the Japanese education. Some Okinawans strove to promote "education as Japanese nationals" and Japanese consciousness through education. Okinawa reverted to the Japanese administration in 1972, and the Japanese educational system incorporated Okinawa's education.

These macro-level incidents, including the forced annexation, deprivation of the kingship, assimilation and Japanization through education, control by the militaristic powers, movements to educate students to be Japanese nationals, and reversion to the Japanese

administration were influential factors in identity formation and fluctuation among Okinawans. Historically speaking, Okinawans are entitled to claim their Okinawan identities because Ryukyu existed as a distinct state, and as a state with autonomy even after Satsuma's invasion in 1609. Japanese identity among Okinawans was most likely a modern phenomenon that emerged and prevailed in Okinawa's society and was promoted through education and other elements after Japan's annexation of Ryukyu in 1879. This section provided a historical background that serves to increase understanding of the complexities of identities in Ryukyu/Okinawa that I explored in more detail in the literature review in Chapter 2. It also provided a historical context for understanding participants' identities, as discussed in Chapter 4.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Literature Review**

This chapter is composed of four sections: (a) literature review in a grounded theory approach, (b) identities in Ryukyu/Okinawa, (c) ethnicity of Okinawans as cognition, (d) an ethnic identity development model and factors that influence ethnic identity, and (e) development in Vygotsky's scholarly work and identity and learning in the concept of funds of identity. As I employ a grounded theory approach as methods and methodology, I introduce a controversy over using a literature review in grounded theory first.

#### **Literature Review in a Grounded Theory Approach**

Scholars have debated the role of a literature review when employing grounded theory. One of the controversial points of a literature review is whether a preliminary literature review contaminates emergence of concepts and theories by preconceptions. Although scholars agree that a literature review should not interfere with emergence of concepts and theories, the role of a literature review varies based on each grounded theory approach (Giles, King, & de Lacey, 2013; McCallin, 2003; Ramalho, Adams, Huggard, & Hoare, 2015). The following is the standpoint of the classical grounded theory:

An effective strategy is, at first, literally to ignore the literature of theory and fact on the area under study, in order to assure that the emergence of categories will not be contaminated by concepts more suited to different areas. Similarities and convergences with the literature can be established after the analytic core of categories has emerged.

(Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 37)

The classical grounded theory approach is to refrain from an initial literature review related to the study before research. In Corbin and Strauss's (2014) approach, the literature may be used to

make comparisons, enhance sensitivity,<sup>12</sup> provide descriptive materials, supply questions for initial observations and interviews, stimulate analytic questions, and confirm findings. They do not encourage utilization of theoretical frameworks because it contradicts the purpose of the grounded theory methodology that is to develop a theoretical explanatory framework.

Lo (2016) proposed a process of consecutive literature review and a three-stage model of literature review. In the first stage, preliminary literature review can be beneficial in terms of the feasibility of research, capabilities of researchers, and likelihood of an emerging theory. The goal of this stage is to sensitize researchers with general and relevant field knowledge. The scope of preliminary literature review in this stage is broad. The second stage involves the beginning of analysis and emergence of concepts and theories. At this point, researchers continue literature review to relate and compare preliminary findings to extant concepts and theories to enhance emerging concepts and theories. The aim of continual literature review at this stage is to achieve theoretical saturation. The scope of literature review is focused. In the third stage, researchers critically and synthetically review literature to cross-validate or triangulate the concepts and theories that emerged with extant concepts and theories in order to achieve the goal of locating the situatedness in a particular research area, show significance and contribution of the research, inspect personal bias, and demonstrate research reflexivity.

Ramalho, Adams, Huggard, and Hoare (2015) recommended that researchers acknowledge their epistemological positions. Some researchers may make an epistemological assumption that a literature review should be avoided until later stages of a study. Other

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<sup>12</sup> Sensitivity makes researchers aware of elements regarding research interests during data collection and analysis.

researchers may make another epistemological assumption that a literature review is not avoidable or undesirable, but necessary for an analytic process.

In my research, I utilized a literature review necessary for a research process, but did not intend to review literature for the purpose of having a conceptual or theoretical framework to collect and examine data. Rather, I reviewed literature to locate my study in the academic area of identities in Ryukyu/Okinawa in a cognitive perspective on ethnicity, enhance sensitivity to elements relevant to identity development and factors influential to identity, and situate the study results in the research areas of development, identity, and learning in a sociocultural perspective.

### **Identities in Ryukyu/Okinawa**

Identity is not static or fixed, but variable, fluid, and constructed in the complex and dynamic contexts of history, politics, economy, society, international relations, interpersonal relationships, and other elements. Scholars have discussed and elucidated dynamics of identities in Ryukyu/Okinawa. In order to understand identities in Ryukyu/Okinawa swayed by the complex web of historical, political, social, and interpersonal relations, this section explores scholarly work on (a) identities in Ryukyu/Okinawa in the political context of international and domestic relations, (b) identity formation and negotiation among Okinawans who studied abroad, and (c) survey research on complex identities as Okinawan and Japanese.

**Identities in Ryukyu/Okinawa in the political context of international and domestic relations.** Some scholars have discussed identities in Ryukyu/Okinawa by investigating the visions of intellectuals and politicians, Okinawa's relations with China, Japan, and the United States, and political activities. Smits (1999) examined Ryukyu's complex and ambiguous position relative to Japan and China and the visions of leading intellectual and political figures in the early modern era. He explored discourses of constructed Ryukyuan identity from the

perspectives of Ryukyu as a distinct entity interacting with external Others,<sup>13</sup> such as Japan (Satsuma and the *bakufu*) and China, and of internal social and political divisions that created intra-Ryukyuan Others. He examined visions of Ryukyuan intellectuals who strove to integrate culture and polity and unite Ryukyuans into a political community. For instance, Shō Shōken (1617–1675), a prime minister,<sup>14</sup> modeled the administration of Satsuma for certain reforms, and paid attention to how Satsuma would view Ryukyuans. He promoted an educational directive that he and the Council of Three (*sanshikan*), Ryukyu's governing body, issued for qualification for government office to encourage Ryukyuan elites to learn Japanese culture. In addition, he engaged in constructing Ryukyu's past through the creation of Ryukyu's first history book, which reflected *tentō* thought,<sup>15</sup> his vision of seventeenth-century Ryukyu, and its relation with Satsuma in favor of the lord-vassal relationship between Ryukyu and Satsuma.

On the other hand, Tei Junsoku (1663–1735), a Confucian scholar, poet, and diplomat, saw China as a universal cultural ideal and center of civilization, and promoted Chinese studies in Ryukyu (Smits, 1999). In 1706, he wrote an essay about the development of Confucian studies in Ryukyu, *Brief Account of the Construction of the Confucian Temple and the Establishment of Learning*. He went to China as the head of a tribute mission and brought *Amplification of the Six Maxims*, a basic moral primer, to Ryukyu, and played a role in disseminating the primer not only

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<sup>13</sup> In contexts of identity formation, the concept of “other” is used to be compared and contrasted to define “self” or identity, and occasionally capitalized (Edgar & Sedgwick, 1999).

<sup>14</sup> A prime minister, or *shisshii* in Okinawan and *sessei* in Japanese, is “a position second only to the king in the formal line of authority and limited to royal relatives” (Smits, 1999, p. 51).

<sup>15</sup> “*Tentō* thought was a major intellectual and religious tradition in Japan's middle ages that combined elements of Confucianism, Buddhism, Chinese correlative cosmology, and native beliefs, and it remained influential in Japanese intellectual circles into the seventeenth century” (Smits, 1999, p. 60).

to Ryukyu but also to Japan. He also devoted himself to reforming the rites at the Confucian temple to make practices closer to Chinese ones.

Sai On (1682–1761) viewed the combination of elements of Shō Shōken’s recognition of Japanese power and Tei Junsoku’s glorification of Chinese culture and standard as an ideal, with the development of a vision of Ryukyu’s destiny with Ryukyuans’ own hands by minimizing Satsuma’s interference in directing Ryukyu’s society and of Ryukyu as an ideal Confucian society (Smits, 1999). In this view, the tension between Japan and China resulted in Ryukyu’s ambiguous political status and the production of a vision of Ryukyu. In his vision of Ryukyu drawing upon Confucian thought, inward moral effort embodied external emergence of material stability and prosperity. In order to found a country, Sai On emphasized the necessity of Ryukyu’s reliance on Satsuma’s metal, which was one of the fundamental materials for a formation of a country and which Ryukyu lacked, and the establishment of a well-ordered Confucian society. He believed that adhering to the fundamental principles of the Way of Government (*goseidō no honpō*) was the way for Ryukyu to become peaceful, stable, and prosperous. He developed policies and programs pertaining to revision of rites and ceremonies, material standards of living (forest management, agriculture, and hydraulic engineering), and rectification of social life.

However, not all of Sai On’s and royal government’s regulations were free from opposition (Smits, 1999). Some peasants passively resisted the prohibition of social practice and attempts to inhibit or rectify local customs. A group of *yukatchu* (members of aristocratic class in Ryukyu) literati from Shuri wrote about their opposition to Sai On’s vision of Ryukyu and political ideology. Heshikiya Chōbin (1700–1734) was the most famous figure in the group. Much of his writing recollected a Buddhist sense of pathos. Heshikiya’s belief was that “one’s

mind would become calm and illuminated by allowing nature to take its course and human desires to be fulfilled, not by a strict regimen of moral effort backed up the laws and the coercive power of the state” (Smits, 1999, p. 122). His ideal of one’s mind was not compatible with Sai On’s vision of reconstructing Ryukyu by reforming policies.

As shown in these four intellectual and political figures’ visions of Ryukyu, Ryukyu was the contested site in which Ryukyuans strove to realize their visions through their political activities and practices, and constructed Ryukyuan identity vis-a-vis extra-Ryukyuan Others as well as domestic politics, based on the ideologies of Confucianism, *tentō* thought, and Buddhism. However, there were no policies to culturally unify the regions in the Ryukyuan state to create Ryukyuan identity (Smits, 2015). While the elites of the upper class in society showed Ryukyuan identity, it was likely that most of the common residents on Ryukyu islands did not consciously think of themselves as Ryukyuan in the 1870s. Since common residents in the Ryukyuan state had no strong national identity, it was likely that Japanese identity relatively easily prevailed among the commoners after Japan’s annexation of Ryukyu (Smits, 2015).

Koji Taira (1997) discussed identities in Ryukyu/Okinawa from history, politics, and geopolitics, and described fluctuations in identities, in the contexts of historical and political incidents in relations with Japan, China, and the United States. Satsuma’s 1609 invasion placed Ryukyu’s status as dual subordination to China and Japan. With the continuation of Ryukyu’s tributary relationship with China recognized and allowed by Satsuma and the *bakufu*, Ryukyu utilized this international status to express its independent identity. In 1879, *Ryukyu shobun*<sup>16</sup> (the Disposition of Ryukyu) took place. Japan’s annexation and incorporation of Ryukyu as

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<sup>16</sup> *Ryukyu shobun* literally means Ryukyu disposition, and is often used for the incident of Japan’s annexation of Ryukyu. I used “the Disposition of Ryukyu” when the authors of literature employed this term.



Okinawa Prefecture placed Okinawans into the largest population among the minority groups in Japan owing to the territorial expansion of Imperial Japan. Okinawa's relations with Japan during modern Okinawa (1879–1945) was characterized as a degradation of Okinawan identity.

During the U.S. military occupation of Okinawa that started in 1945, the United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyus (USCAR) and the centralized Government of the Ryukyu Islands (GRI) were established. The USCAR–GRI setup bore resemblance to a conventional Western colonial system. The movement for reversion to Japan, in which citizens enjoyed their liberties under the 1947 Japanese Constitution, arose in order to liberate Okinawa from “alien rule.” Okinawans self-identified as Japanese vis-à-vis Americans in a way to resist American racism, while claimed their distinct features vis-à-vis Japanese. Even after the reversion to Japan in 1972, Okinawa did not achieve their goal of liberating Okinawa from alien rule, which was evident from the continuation of the U.S. military presence. Koji Taira (1997) discussed Okinawan independence as the solution to how Okinawans could maintain a sense of personal integrity under the challenge of a dual identity of being Okinawan and Japanese, in the situation of Okinawa's status as part of Japan where their ethnic diversity was not valued.

Ōta (1980) also discussed identities among Okinawans from historical and political perspectives and Okinawa's relation with Japan and the United States. He pointed out that Okinawans existed not by themselves, but through the internal and external Others, such as Japanese and Americans, and it was essential to analyze external conditions subsuming Okinawa and Okinawa's relations with people from other prefectures and Americans. Since “Satsuma's entry into Ryukyu” in the early 17th century, Okinawans had an ambiguous position. The Japanese political authorities followed Satsuma's example and treated Okinawa as a pawn,

taking advantage of Okinawa for their political purposes from the Meiji period to the postwar period. This threw Okinawans into a situation of loss of identity and uprootedness.

Okinawans were not American nor Japanese and left as stateless people after the Pacific War. The Allied Powers and Japan signed the Treaty of Peace with Japan in San Francisco on September 8, 1951 and the treaty came into effect on April 28, 1952 (Ōta, 1980). Article 3 in Chapter II of Territory in this treaty stated that,

Japan will concur in any proposal of the United States to the United Nations to place under its trusteeship system, with the United States as the sole administering authority, Nansei Shoto south of 29° north latitude (including the Ryukyu Islands and the Daito Islands) . . . . Pending the making of such a proposal and affirmative action thereon, the United States will have the right to exercise all and any powers of administration, legislation and jurisdiction over the territory and inhabitants of these islands, including their territorial waters. (Treaty of Peace with Japan, 1951, p. 50)

This Article legally determined Okinawa's position under the U.S. military's control, which was nothing less than denationalization and loss of "identity as Japanese" that Okinawans had pursued and almost achieved since the Disposition of Ryukyu. Furthermore, deployment of nuclear weapons in the U.S. military bases in Okinawa placed Okinawans in a crisis of losing their identities as a human being, that is, the right to proactively exist as a human being (Ōta, 1980). Okinawans were not given opportunities for decision making, which was equal to uprooting an entity as a human. One of the ways to solve this problem was to participate in the national administration. In other words, it was essential to perform an active role as an agent of political transformation by obtaining national identity. Thus, it was almost inevitable that

although once Okinawans had returned to things Okinawan,<sup>17</sup> they changed their direction to the Japan orientation. The reversion was the way to obtain national identity, which was an extension of the processes of pursuing Japanese identity that continued since the prewar period. However, there was a difference in pursuit of national identity between the prewar and postwar periods. Okinawans strove to gain identity as Japanese by renouncing cultural identity as Okinawan in the prewar days, but they aspired to achieve Japanese national identity while restoring and maintaining cultural identity as Okinawan in the postwar period (Ōta, 1980).

Sakashita (2017) presented “the residents of Okinawa Prefecture” as the category functioning to stabilize a “syncretic” vision by combining the categories of “Japanese” and “Ryukyuan/Okinawan.” These categories are in strained and unstable relations under the assumption of modern nationalism, which indicates that people belong to one nation and thus have one national identity. From the syncretic vision, “Japanese” and “Ryukyuan/Okinawan,” which contained elements of “imagined communities” and were used as a “we” category in certain contexts, syncretized. This syncretized composition transformed under the influences of political events and developments. For example, Sakashita (2017) pointed out that the annexation of Ryukyu and the establishment of Okinawa Prefecture were the basis of a paradigm shift of the worldview of “we” from premodern Ryukyu to modern Okinawa. Residents of Okinawa Prefecture continued to see the world from a worldview formed during the period of the Ryukyuan state. However, after the Japanese–Sino War and the Japanese–Russo War, the category of “residents of Okinawa Prefecture”  $\equiv$  “Japanese”  $\neq$  colonizer rapidly dominated the

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<sup>17</sup> The so-called “things Okinawan,” such as local performing arts, in postwar Okinawa was rapidly restored owing to the U.S. administrative policies as well as residents’ almost-intuitive self-defense mechanism to protect themselves from America’s “cultural invasion” (Ōta, 1980).

cognitive framework. In this process, “Ryukyuan” and “Okinawan” as modern ethnicities emerged. The process of internalizing “Japanese” by assimilating into “Japan” as well as the process of the formation of Okinawa Prefecture as the imagined community composed of autonomous and equal individuals by differentiating from “Japan” simultaneously emerged. This framework of a syncretic vision of self-understanding continued until another event of the Battle of Okinawa.

After the battle, Okinawa came under the U.S. military’s control, and “Japanese” stopped functioning as the “we” category in the political arena, while “Okinawan” and “the Ryukyuan people” operated as the “we” category. Although the syncretic vision did not become completely extinct, the vision was not utilized among the political actors until the movement for reversion to the Japanese administration arose in February 1951. One of the structural factors of the movement was the restart and activation of trade with Japan. People involved in the trade realized that the development of the export industry would be impossible unless the Japanese government considered Ryukyu/Okinawa’s industry as “Japanese industry” in order for the protection policy to cover Ryukyu/Okinawa. The other structural factors included (a) the U.S. military government’s disregard of the education and social policies, (b) the reappraisal of “the Japanese era” caused by the disappointment with the existing circumstances, (c) the Okinawan leaders’ situational awareness of the detriment of the education and social policies due to Okinawa’s separation from Japan and position under the U.S. military’s control, and (d) Japan’s emerging move to support Okinawa under such a situation.

In addition to the structural factors, one of the factors that triggered the movement for reversion to the Japanese administration was the U.S. special envoy Dulles’s visit to Japan in January 1951 to negotiate the contents of the peace treaty with Japan. Ryukyu/Okinawa’s

attribution would be determined based on the negotiation between the United States and Japan. Political actors in Okinawa started announcing their opinions about the attribution issue. The pro-reversion group was dominant over the pro-independence and pro-trusteeship forces. The other triggering factor was the San Francisco Peace Treaty signed in September 1951. The legal implication of the Treaty's Article 2 and 3 and the concept of residual sovereignty could be interpreted that "Ryukyu" was within the territory of the Japanese state and residents possessed "Japanese citizenship," while these rights and duties did not come into effect as long as the administrative right belonged to the United States. This implication and interpretation caused the upsurge of "Japanese" consciousness. The directions of aspiring to obtain "Japanese citizenship" and affirming credentials of being "Japanese" as the cultural community in order to assure the legitimacy of citizenship emerged. After the Treaty, when the U.S. military seized Okinawan land and forced base lease contracts, the category of "residents of Okinawa Prefecture" reappeared to syncretize the conflicting vectors of self-determination and the reversion to the Japanese administration. The Price Report<sup>18</sup> in June 1956 triggered "the island-wide struggles" over the land issues and the syncretized vision of "residents of Okinawa Prefecture," which was the term that a particular political party had used, diffused to other actors in Okinawa. It became the indispensable term for the reversion movement in the 1960s.

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<sup>18</sup> Charles Melvin Price and other members of the U.S. House Armed Service Committee visited Okinawa for two days to review the land problem, and issued the report that "justified the permanent lease of military land, lump sum payment of rent, and additional land acquisition" (Tanji, 2006, p. 34). This report violated the resolution called "the four principles of land protection" that opposed lump sum payments to obtain permanent leases of the lands for the U.S. Forces' use announced by USCAR in March 1953. The principles included (a) opposition to lump sum payment, (b) just and complete compensation, (c) indemnification for damage, and (d) no further land acquisition. The Ryukyu Legislature supported this resolution in April 1954.

Thus, “residents of Okinawa Prefecture” presupposed belonging to “Japan” and “Japanese” because “Prefecture” was derived from the centralized administrative system, while “Okinawa” functioned as the “we” category taking on nationalism. This category of “residents of Okinawa Prefecture” as the syncretic national identity fluctuated based on the political actors, contexts, and events.

As for the politics of identity in contemporary Okinawa, some activists asserted Okinawans as “indigenous people” (Siddle, 2003). “Indigenous people” is a political conception in a context of decolonization as well as the protection and rights of minorities within international law. These activists claimed the rights of Uchinaanchu to self-determination as an indigenous people through the United Nations. One of them made a presentation on the situation of Okinawa at the 14th Session of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations within the United Nations in August 1996. He mentioned the U.S. military base issues, and distributed a position paper stating Okinawa’s sovereignty that was deprived of by Japan’s forced and invalid annexation of Ryukyu, and other alleged infringements of international law, such as discrimination against Okinawan migrant workers in Japan, forced conscription during the Battle of Okinawa, the lack of Okinawan involvement in the process of reversion to the Japanese administration, and the U.S. military base issue regarding human rights and the environment. Among the activists, the history of Satsuma’s invasion, Japan’s annexation of Ryukyu, colonial assimilation and discrimination, and Japan’s and the U.S. military’s human rights abuses was crucial in making Okinawans realize structures similar to those in the histories of other indigenous people. However, the concept of Uchinaanchu as an indigenous people was not entrenched in Okinawa, and it was uncertain as to whether their campaign of recognizing

Uchinaanchu as an indigenous people was well known and accepted among Okinawans (Siddle, 2003).

**Identity formation and negotiation among Okinawans who studied abroad.** In addition to historical intellectual and political figures, international and domestic relations, and political activities, examinations of Okinawans' experiences at a personal level is helpful to broaden the understanding of identities among Okinawans. Yamazato (2013) conducted research on the study abroad programs established for Okinawans during the period of the U.S. occupation (1945–1972), and investigated formation and negotiation of participants' identities. The study abroad program participants were known as *beiryū gumi*, or the study in the U.S. group. She examined the macro-level factors of the relations among the United States, Japan, and Okinawa, and the micro-level of *beiryū gumi*'s experiences. Yamazato examined how their experiences in the continental United States and Hawai'i in race-gender-class dynamics, and their lives after returning to Okinawa influenced their identities. As for negotiation of ethnic and national identities in situational contexts, their Japanese national identities became more salient and affirmed when they had to write "Ryukyuan" on documents, felt an inferiority complex of being Okinawan, interacted with mainland Japanese students, and experienced discrimination or negative perceptions. Yamazato pointed out that those who studied in Hawai'i found a more positive sense of self as Okinawan than those in the continental United States because they encountered Okinawan culture and a sense of being Okinawan that Okinawan descendants maintained and cherished in Hawai'i. Yamazato's research shed light on how ethnic and national identities among Okinawans were formed and negotiated depending on particular statuses and experiences, historical backgrounds, and interpersonal interactions in certain regions.

**Survey research on complex identities as Okinawan and Japanese.** Besides the qualitative research, quantitative studies are also important to grasp a tendency and trend of identities among the general population in Okinawa. Survey studies on identities among residents in Okinawa revealed consciousness and identities as Okinawan and Japanese with complexities (Kuniyoshi, 1998; Lim, 2010). Kuniyoshi (1998) surveyed 735 residents in Okinawa Prefecture aged 20 and over in 1995, and divided them into five groups. I reviewed the results from the youngest group of 323 participants aged from 20 to 28 that Kuniyoshi described as those who did not reach school age at the time of the reversion. These participants grew up and were educated after the reversion. Regarding these characteristics, the participants in my current study were more similar to this youngest group than the other four groups. Kuniyoshi found that her participants were often or sometimes conscious of or were made conscious of being Uchinaanchu (70.4%) or Japanese (43.7%). Lim (2010) surveyed residents in Okinawa Prefecture, aged from 18 to 25. There were 88 participants in 2005, 108 in 2006, and 131 in 2007. His research results showed Okinawan consciousness (38.6% in 2005, 20.4% in 2006, and 28.0% in 2007), Japanese consciousness (11.4% in 2005, 22.2% in 2006, and 23.7% in 2007), and both Okinawan and Japanese consciousness (50.0% in 2005, 57.4% in 2006, and 45.2% in 2007). In addition, Lim examined the degree of Okinawan and Japanese consciousness on a scale of 0 to 10, and found the means of 6.8 in 2005, 7.2 in 2006, and 6.7 in 2007 for Okinawan consciousness, and 6.6 in 2005, 6.8 in 2006, and 6.6 in 2007 for Japanese consciousness. Relatively speaking, the young adult residents in Okinawa Prefecture were more conscious of being Okinawan in Kuniyoshi's research, and Lim's study showed dual self-identification as Okinawan and Japanese as higher than sole Okinawan or Japanese consciousness. Lim (2010) found that mainstream young adults in Okinawa thought that having both Okinawan and



Japanese identities was not incompatible. In other words, a sometimes-told tendency of binary opposition between Okinawan and Japanese consciousness was not prominent, at least among young adults in Okinawa. However, the result from another question asking which team they cheered for, an Okinawan team or Japanese team in a sport game, showed that most of the participants chose an Okinawan team. This outcome indicated the tendency that Okinawa came first, followed by Japan.

Kuniyoshi's (1998) and Lim's (2010) research also revealed willingness to be Japanese, as well as perceptions of Okinawa's relations with Japan among young adult residents in Okinawa. Kuniyoshi found that 27.9% of the participants wanted to be Japanese, 30.3% did not want to be Japanese, and 41.8% did not know. In Lim's research, 79.1% of the participants responded that it was good (66.7%) or good, if anything, (12.4%) that Okinawa became part of Japan after the Disposition of Ryukyu. Also, many of them were unlikely to advocate for Okinawa's independence from Japan, as seen in their responses that Okinawa should be independent (28.4% in 2005, 22.2% in 2006, and 14.3% in 2007) or should not be independent (61.4% in 2005, 77.8% in 2006, and 75.2% in 2007). However, over half of the participants provided negative responses to other questions pertaining to the Japanese government's attitudes towards Okinawa and policies regarding Okinawa, and if a regional system would be introduced, over half of them reported that they would choose the state of Okinawa, instead of a combination of other prefectures in the southern part of Japan. Based on these results, Lim (2010) pointed out that while many young adults accepted Okinawa's existence under the framework of the Japanese state, they tended to be dissatisfied with and distanced themselves from Japan. Furthermore, the responses to other questions demonstrated that if three main Okinawa issues, such as the U.S. military bases, economic disparities with mainland Japan, and perspectives of

history were solved, their Japanese consciousness would grow; whereas, if the issues worsened, their Okinawan consciousness would increase.

**Locating my research in the academic area of identities in Ryukyu/Okinawa.** As shown above, the researchers discussed identities in Ryukyu/Okinawa in the political context of international and domestic relations from early modern Ryukyu to contemporary Okinawa. Some researchers conducted a qualitative study on identities among Okinawans who studied abroad during the period of the U.S. military occupation, and quantitative studies on identities among young adult residents in contemporary Okinawa. I locate my research in this academic area of identities in Ryukyu/Okinawa as a qualitative study focusing on a process of Okinawa identity development especially among Okinawan young adults who grew up in Okinawa and studied at either a university or community college in Hawai‘i in the contemporary era.

### **Ethnicity of Okinawans as Cognition**

The above section showed that identities in Ryukyu/Okinawa fluctuated depending on dynamic and complex contexts. Within those complexities, ethnicities of Okinawans and Japanese can influence such variability of identities in Okinawa. In this section, I examine the anthropological and genetic research to understand ethnicity of Okinawans, and discuss how I treated ethnicity in my research. Hanihara (1991) proposed a dual structure model to explain the population history of the Japanese Archipelago and Ryukyu. According to the model, the first population, came from Southeast Asia, entered into the Japanese Archipelago in the Upper Palaeolithic Age (about 16,000 BCE),<sup>19</sup> and grew in population in the Neolithic Jomon Age (lasted approximately 10,000 years until 300 BCE). This first population is called the Jomonese. After this, the migrant population from Northeast Asia came into the northwest part of Japan in

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<sup>19</sup> The periodization is based on Hanihara's (1991) study.

and after the Aeneolithic Yayoi Age (from the 3rd century BCE to the 3rd century ACE). The migrants introduced paddy-field rice cultivation, metal tools, and political power. They established small states, which were unified to build the Imperial Court in the Kinki district (central Honshū, Japan's largest island) during the Kofun Age (from the late 3rd century to the 6th century). Both populations gradually intermixed. The Jomonese lineage spread mainly in Hokkaido (the northernmost island of Japan), Okinawa, east Honshū, south Kyūshū (the southwestern island of Japan) and Shikoku (the island located south of Honshū and east of Kyūshū), and the second migrant population resided in west Honshū and north Kyūshū. The model assumed that the Ainu and Ryukyuan peoples had a common origin from the Jomonese, while the populations in the Japanese main islands were physically and culturally influenced by the Yayoi migrants.

Researchers conducted studies on the origins and diversities of the populations in the Japanese Archipelago and Ryukyu islands and discussed the validity of the dual structure model. The Ainu–Ryukyuan common origin theory was a basis of the dual structure model, and the theory assumed that the Jomonese were the origin of both Ainu and Ryukyans (Manabe et al., 2008). The Jomonese–Ainu and Jomonese–Ryukyuan common origin theories derived from the Ainu–Ryukyuan common origin theory. Some researchers analyzed and supported the Ainu–Ryukyuan common origin theory through studies of dental morphology, blood genetic markers, functions of facial expression muscles, osteomorphology, human genetics, human T-cell leukemia virus (HTLV); however, other research challenged or did not support the theory based on the results derived from somatology, craniometry, cranial nonmetric traits, mitochondrial DNA, and the human leukocyte antigen (HLA) gene (Manabe et al., 2008). Although prehistoric period data supported the Jomonese–Ryukyuan common origin theory, Manabe et al. (2011)

pointed out that their examination of dental morphological characteristics indicated that early modern and modern Okinawa islanders were more similar to the migrant Yayoi and modern Japanese populations than to the Jomonese and Ainu populations. Manabe et al. (2011) explained that it was likely that the gene flow of the migrant Yayoi population from northern Kyūshū into Okinawa Island southward genetically influenced the population of Okinawa Island. This did not contradict the dual structure model in terms of the formation of the geographic variation of physical characteristics, depending on the rate of admixture of the two ancestral populations.

The advancement of genetic analysis has contributed to understandings of the origins, commonalities, and differences among people in the Japanese Archipelago and Ryukyu islands. Shinoda (2015) compared the mitochondrial DNA studies between the mainland Japanese, Ainu, and Ryukyans, and demonstrated differences between these groups. By reviewing genetic studies, Jinam, Kanzawa-Kiriyama, and Saitou (2015) concluded that the Ainu and Ryukyuan populations retained genetic uniqueness that was most likely of the Jomon origin, and current-day Japanese were admixed between the ancestral Jomon and Yayoi populations, which supported the dual structure model in general. Another genetic result showed that the Mainland Japanese and Ryukyans were the admixture between the ancestors of the Ainu (Jomon people) and continental Asians (Yayoi people), and Ryukyans had more Jomon components than the Mainland Japanese (Jinam, Kanzawa-Kiriyama, Inoue, et al., 2015). Saitou and Jinam (2017) compared DNA data with linguistic data, and assumed that the linguistic change from the Ryukyuan language to the Japanese language caused by the influence from the Japanese Mainlanders was in accordance with the gene flow from the Mainland to the Ryukyu Archipelago; however, linguistic difference between these languages were not likely to be consistent with DNA difference between the Mainlanders and Okinawans. Some parts of the

model remained to be clarified, such as the origins of the Jomon people, the genetic affinities of the Yayoi people, and more complex human migration and interactions among Japanese than the dual structure model assumed (Jinam, Kanzawa-Kiriyama, & Saitou, 2015).

Some scholars critiqued the dual structure model, and proposed an alternative theory or model. For instance, Nagahama (2010) criticized Hanihara's dual structure model in terms of its assumption of "one million migrants hypothesis," or a large number of people estimated to have migrated to Japan in and after the Yayoi period. He also scrutinized and was critical about other intellectuals' and scholars' ideas and research on the origin of the Japanese, and concluded that the ancestors of the Japanese were not the migrant group, but those who had lived in the Japanese Archipelago for about 10,000 years since the Jomon period. Shinoda (2015) suggested a departure from the dual structure model to construct a new theory of formation of the Japanese by pursuing the history of formation of local groups in the Japanese Archipelago. Based on nuclear genomic data, Saitou (2017) hypothesized that the inner dual structure that elucidated the genetic differences between the Mainland Japanese in the urban areas and those in the peripheries. Drawing upon this hypothesis, he added to the dual structure model one more group that possibly migrated to the Japanese Archipelago from a coastal area surrounded by the Korean Peninsula, Liaodong Peninsula, and Shandong Peninsula approximated between 4,400 BP and 3,000 BP. He called this the three migration waves model.

Thus, although empirical studies have supported the dual structure model and the Ainu–Ryukyuan common origin theory in general, part of the model and theory remains unknown and unresolved. Further anthropology, genetics, and other areas of studies may discover new evidence that may or may not validate the origin and features of Okinawans, Ainu, and Japanese

or suggest alternative models and theories, which is important to characterize Okinawans' ethnicity.

These on-going studies are insightful in thinking about ethnicity of Okinawans; however, my research did not determine ethnicity of Okinawans by these anthropological and genetic characteristics or other features (e.g., blood quantum, place of birth, language, cultural heritage), although these and other objective characteristics of Okinawans can contribute to self-identification and consciousness as Okinawan. Instead, I treated ethnicity of Okinawans as a cognitive product of cultural representations and social interactions. Brubaker, Loveman, and Stamatov (2004) elucidated cognitive perspectives on ethnicity:

Rather than take “groups” as basic units of analysis, cognitive perspectives shift analytical attention to “group-making” and “grouping” activities such as classification, categorization, and identification. By their very nature, classification, categorization, and identification create “groups” and assign members to them; but the groups thus created do not exist independently of the myriad acts of classification, categorization, and identification, public and private, through which they are sustained from day to day. Race, ethnicity, and nationality exist only in and through our perceptions, interpretations, representations, classifications, categorizations, and identifications. They are not things *in* the world, but perspectives *on* the world - not ontological but epistemological realities. (Brubaker et al., 2004, p. 45)

The acts of “group-making” and “grouping” among people are the key to understanding ethnicity as cognition. The content, distribution, accessibility, and salience of representations within a population factor in groupness. Brubaker and colleagues pointed out that ethnicity is socially constructed in culture-cognition relationships at the macro and micro levels.

Based on this notion of ethnicity as cognition, I conceive of Okinawan ethnicity as a cognitive product of cultural representations and social interactions, referring to Okinawans' self-identification and consciousness as Okinawan as well as people's recognition of Okinawans as a classified group through those people's perceptions and interpretations of experiences. Okinawans' and others' perceptions and interpretations are dependent on the content, distribution, accessibility, and salience of representations. Representations, which people construct, maintain, and disseminate in the process of grouping Okinawans, activate and stimulate Okinawans to self-identify and become conscious of themselves as Okinawan. These actions also influence those who are not Okinawan to recognize and categorize Okinawans as a group. These processes of self-identification, consciousness, recognition, and categorization function to construct Okinawan ethnicity within/between individuals and in societies. In other words, the making of Okinawan ethnicity is dependent on the degree of identification, consciousness, recognition, and categorization within representations and social and cognitive interactions that people create, maintain, and distribute. Thus, my research on Okinawan identity is located in a cognitive perspective in terms of ethnicity of Okinawans.

### **An Ethnic Identity Development Model and Factors That Influence Ethnic Identity**

Phinney (1993) examined developmental aspects of ethnic identity. She conceptualized a three-stage model of ethnic identity development in adolescence, which was based on Erikson's (1964, 1968) writing and was congruent with Marcia's (1980) ego identity status and other models of ethnic identity (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1983; Cross, 1978; Helms, 1990; Kim, 1981). Phinney's first stage is unexamined ethnic identity. Minority group individuals at this stage explore their identities or encounter some events that stimulate their identities. They may not be interested in or concerned with their ethnicity, and may accept an outside view of their

ethnicity. In the second stage of ethnic identity search/moratorium, individuals search for their ethnic identities, become aware of the disadvantageous aspects of minority groups, and immerse themselves in cultural activities. In this stage, individuals have not gained a clear sense of their own ethnicity, but are in the process of identity construction as they search for the meaning of their ethnicity. The third stage is ethnic identity achievement. In this stage, individuals are likely to show calmness, ideological flexibility, and self-fulfillment as individuals are positive and confident about their ethnic identity. Phinney (1993) also discussed the contextual aspects of this model. That is, it is likely that individuals progress through the stages over time, and the extent and rate of development vary depending on contexts. Achieving ethnic identity is indicative of positive self-esteem and relationships with family and peers.

Some research revealed factors that influenced ethnic identity. Ontai-Grzebik and Raffaelli (2004) found a negative impact of parent education and positive influence of parents' ethnic preferences on ethnic identity exploration among Latino young adults. Ethnic identity achievement was related to having educated parents, high levels of Latino orientation (the degree to which participants exposed themselves to and adheres to Latino culture), and years in the United States. Roehling, Jarvis, Sprick, and Campbell (2010) conducted research on an immigration debate and its influence on the ethnic identity among Latino students. The results showed that eighth-grade Latino youth in 2006, at the height of the immigration debate, had higher levels of ethnic exploration and affirmation than those in 2005, but not among seventh-grade Latino youth. Yip (2005) revealed that ethnic composition, language, and family moderated by stable ethnic salience were associated with ethnic salience among Chinese American students. Ferrera (2017) conducted in-depth individual life story interviews with second-generation Filipino American emerging adults. She concluded that cultural portals, or



access points to heritage and culture, such as trips to the Philippines, Filipino friends or mentors, ethnic identity workshops, Filipino or Tagalog language courses, and Filipino organizations, might help second-generation Filipino American young adults enhance ethnic identity exploration and development in a transformative way. Daha (2011) discovered factors that contributed to the retention of ethnic identity among second-generation Iranian American adolescents, such as family connectedness, the Persian language, engagement in cultural activities and traditions, community ties, a sense of ethnic/cultural pride, attainment of cultural beliefs and values. Phinney, Romero, Nava, and Huang (2001) conducted research on ethnic identity among Armenian, Vietnamese, and Mexican immigrant families, and showed that parental cultural maintenance, ethnic language proficiency, and in-group peer interaction contributed to ethnic identity in adolescents.

Culture-based and study abroad programs can also be influential to ethnic identity. Takayama and Ledward (2009) investigated the impact of Hawaiian culture-based education on students' ethnic identity. Their study revealed that Hawaiian students who had at least one teacher who utilized the highest levels of culture-based education reported significantly higher ethnic identity than those who did not have teachers who used high or even moderate levels of culture-based education. Among Afro-Caribbean international students at a university in the United States, Malcolm and Mendoza (2014) unveiled actions and mechanisms outlining participants' ethnic identity in three "REactions": (a) RESisting (selective assimilation, language and accent, and separation of identities); (b) REframing (attachment to Caribbean, personal development, and peer relations); and (c) REaffirming (commitment to home, feelings of commitment, and academic commitment). Lee (2015) identified that ethnic identity in relation to English, appearance, and nationality emerged among Korean early study abroad undergraduates.

Teranishi and Hannigan's (2008) qualitative analyses revealed a complex understanding and meaning of ethnic and cultural identities among Latino/a college students who studied abroad in Mexico.

In sum, the studies above showed the three stages of ethnic identity development, including (a) unexamined ethnic identity, (b) ethnic identity search/moratorium, and (c) ethnic identity achievement, and the factors that influenced ethnic identity, such as parents' education and ethnic preference, language, cultural heritage, family, friends and mentors, organizations, communities, cultural pride/beliefs/values, culture-based programs, study abroad, and the like. These studies are informative; however, I note that as I employed a grounded theory approach, I did not use the model or the influential factors for my data collection or analysis. I reviewed these studies to enhance my sensitivity to developmental aspects of Okinawan identity and factors that possibly influence Okinawan identity.

### **Development in Vygotsky's Scholarly Work, and Identity and Learning in the Concept of Funds of Identity**

I review Vygotsky's scholarly work and the concept of funds of identity in order to discuss and situate the study results in the research areas of development, identity, and learning. Instead of relying on the perspective of innate, natural, and biological laws of development, and on stimuli-responses research methods, Vygotsky (1997) claimed the necessity of the approach to understand the cultural development of psychology and behavior. As a research method, he employed a dialectical materialist approach, which was based on the idea that people exert an impact on nature and alter these external conditions for their existence (Vygotsky, 1978). His approach was grounded in three principles: (a) analysis of processes, not objects; (b) analysis of real, causal, or dynamic relations; and (c) returning to the source and reconstruction of all the

points in the development. Historical study indicated an investigation of a phenomenon in the process of change. Vygotsky emphasized the interplay of society and historical development of the human mind. He also pointed out the social aspect of culture:

Culture is both a product of social life and of the social activity of man and for this reason, the very formulation of the problem of cultural development of behavior already leads us directly to the social plane of development. Further, we could indicate the fact that the sign found outside the organism, like a tool, is separated from the individual and serves essentially as a social organ or social means. (Vygotsky, 1997, p. 106)

Tools, which are externally oriented, and signs, which are internally oriented, are used as social means that function to mediate children's cultural development, such as development of speech, written language, arithmetic operation, attention, memory, thinking, selection, personality, and world view (Vygotsky, 1978, 1997). Vygotsky explained higher psychological functions in the following way: "The use of artificial means, the transition to mediated activity, fundamentally changes all psychological operations just as the use of tools limitlessly broadens the range of activities within which the new psychological functions may operate" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 55).

Similarly, Vygotsky and Luria (1993) examined developmental processes of primates and human beings, and claimed that cultural and psychological tools play an important role in mediating their development. They focused on cultural development, instead of a biological one, and depicted how primates and human beings utilized tools and signs, or mediated and auxiliary means, to accomplish certain tasks. The important aspect of cultural development is that people's behavior and psychology are conditioned by the law of the historical development of the society. Vygotsky articulated the importance of investigating a history of signs to comprehend psychological development and its relation to social development:

We have only to remember the social nature and origin of every cultural sign in order to understand that when approached from this point of view, psychological development is precisely social development conditioned by the environment. Psychological development is solidly introduced into the context of the entire social development and is revealed in its organic constituent. (Vygotsky & Luria, 1993, p. 39)

In addition, Vygotsky (1997) pointed out that people create stimuli that determine their behaviors and mental activities and use those stimuli as artificial and auxiliary devices, or tools and signs, to master the processes of their behaviors and mental activities. Human beings internally reconstruct an external operation, which is called internalization (Vygotsky, 1978).

From a Vygotskian perspective, scholars (Esteban-Guitart, 2016; Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014a, 2014b; Saubich & Esteban, 2011) conceptualized funds of identity. Identity is embedded in historical and cultural factors, and “[t]hrough participation in human activities and practices—socialization and education—people develop and create lived experiences within themselves” (Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014a, p. 35). Mediation is a key aspect of identity formation; that is, people, significant others, artifacts, activities, practices, institutions, geographies, and other visible and invisible resources are mediators in social, cultural, and historical worlds through which individuals relate themselves to their external worlds and define themselves (Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014a). Identity is a social and cultural product that emerges from interactions between people and their sociocultural environment (Esteban-Guitart, 2012).

From a sociocultural perspective, Esteban-Guitart (2016) conceptualized the funds of identity as follows:

[A] Vygotskian point of view of identity involves taking into account the “trajectories of identification” (or people’s experiences) over time and across the borders of different “communities of practice” where, potentially, they can enact connections between identity texts (or inscriptions or mobile artifacts) that are dialogically created and based on individual, social, and institutional recognition. The premise is that individual psychological functioning (i.e., acts of identification) is a product of social interaction and action embedded in micro and macro contexts involving tools, such as words, pictures, and graphics. (Esteban-Guitart, 2016, p. 46)

Also, funds of identity are a set of resources or box of tools and signs that are historically accumulated, culturally developed, socially distributed and transmitted, and recreated and appropriated throughout people’s lives and life trajectories, through which people define, express, and understand themselves (Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014a, 2014b). Funds of identity can be divided into five major types; (a) geographies, (b) practices, (c) culture, (d) social relations, and (e) institutions (Esteban-Guitart, 2012; Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014a). Esteban-Guitart (2012) emphasized that social funds of identity can gather geographical, practical, cultural, and institutional funds of identity in time and space.

Learning in the funds of identity approach is sociocultural and ecological; that is, learning includes participation in cultural practices and supportive relationships, as well as connection between settings of learning and other spheres (Esteban-Guitart, 2016). In addition, Esteban-Guitart (2016) described six guiding principles of learning: (a) microcultural nature of learning, or learning through mediation in an immediate external environment; (b) macrocultural nature of learning, or overarching institutions governing learning; (c) contextualization, or connection to students’ lives and prior knowledge and experiences; (d) identity investment, or utilization of

sociocultural assets to produce artifacts through which learners affirm their identities; (e) distributed and networked nature of learning, or learning being connected among formal and informal social settings and activities; and (f) social and instrumental mediation, or assistance from experts and/or cultural artifacts.

These ideas of Vygotsky's concept of development and funds of identity suggest that historical, cultural, and social environments play a crucial part in higher psychological functions and identity formation. Based on these ideas, I discuss and situate the study results in the research areas of development, identity, and learning in a sociocultural perspective in Chapter 5.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Methods**

#### **Research Approach: Grounded Theory**

I chose a grounded theory approach for my research investigation. Creswell and Poth (2018) compared five qualitative approaches, namely narrative research, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, and case study. Grounded theory is suited to the research, when a theory is not available to explain or understand a process. The literature may have models available, but they were developed and tested on samples and populations other than those of interest to the qualitative researcher. Also, theories may be present, but they are incomplete because they do not address potentially valuable variables or categories of interest to the researcher. (Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 87)

As suggested in the literature review, Phinney (1993) provided a model of ethnic identity development and other researchers identified factors that influenced ethnic identity; however, their samples and populations were not Okinawans. I conducted the research on Okinawan consciousness and identity salience and development, and pointed to the necessity to deepen an understanding of developmental aspects of Okinawan identity (Kazufumi Taira & Yamauchi, 2018). As detailed in the Introduction section, this previous study indicated that Okinawan identities of university students from Okinawa studying in Hawai‘i became more salient within the context of being in Hawai‘i and also within the context of the Okinawan Club. The aim of this current research was to advance the concepts, constructed in my previous research, regarding Okinawan consciousness and identity salience and development by exploring and focusing on a process of Okinawan identity development in Hawai‘i. Thus, I found grounded theory more appropriate for this study judging from a lack of a model derived from an Okinawan population

and the necessity of advancing the concepts constructed in my previous research, compared to other approaches that feature exploration of the life of an individual (narrative research), understanding of the essence of an experience (phenomenology), description and interpretation of a culture-shared group (ethnography), or development of in-depth description and analysis of a case or multiple cases (case study) (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

Glaser and Strauss (1967) developed grounded theory, and it is utilized to identify concepts, construct theory, and provide insights into certain phenomena (Corbin & Strauss, 2014). Concepts and theories are grounded in data. There are several types of the grounded theory, such as Glaser and Strauss's (1967), Corbin and Strauss's (2014), Charmaz's (2014), and Clarke, Friese, and Washburn's (2018). Among these, I employed Corbin and Strauss's grounded theory approach.

One of the features of the grounded theory is that concepts are not determined before a study starts but derive from data. Another characteristic is interrelationship between research analysis and data collection. That is, once researchers analyze initial data, they construct concepts grounded in the data. Then, they continue data collection and analysis based on the constructed concepts, which is called theoretical sampling. In my current study, I used theoretical sampling based on the constructed concepts derived from the data in my previous research.

## **Participants**

The participants included 19 Okinawan international students who were of Okinawan ancestry, grew up in Okinawa, and were undergraduate or graduate students studying at either a university or community college in Hawai'i. Eighteen participants lived on O'ahu, and one was on Hawai'i Island. I interviewed 10 participants in 2013, four in 2014, two in 2015, and three in 2016. I conducted this study over multiple years because of the limited number of Okinawan



international students in Hawai‘i each year. Participants’ demographic information was as follows: gender (12 females and seven males), education level (six graduate and 13 undergraduate), age (range: 19–28 years,  $M = 22.9$ ,  $Mdn = 23$ , mode = 22), and approximate length (months) of stay in Hawai‘i (range: 8–66 months,  $M = 20.5$ ,  $Mdn = 10$ , mode = 9). Among the 13 undergraduate students, eight students were exchange students who studied at a university in Hawai‘i for two semesters and returned to a university in Okinawa.

## **Procedures**

**Interview.** I recruited 13 participants who I previously knew, by sending an email invitation to ask for their participation. I employed snowball sampling for the other six participants by asking some of the participants I interviewed initially for suggestions of other participants. I conducted interviews and surveys in May, June, and July. The interviews were face-to-face for 11 participants and via Skype for eight participants who had completed their programs and returned to Okinawa. I interviewed participants in Japanese, the language that was commonly used for communication among the participants and myself. The interview questions were semi-structured, and I asked them to provide details, as needed, to explain their experiences. I analyzed the interviews in Japanese, and translated interview quotes reported in this paper from Japanese into English.

I asked the participants whether they described themselves as an Okinawan, Japanese, Asian, or as a member of another group, and if these self-categorizations changed over time, in order to investigate participants’ self-descriptions as Okinawan and its change as time went by. I asked other questions about the kinds of activities and learning regarding Okinawa and Hawai‘i they engaged in, to identify spaces where their Okinawan consciousness was provoked. Then, in order to examine influences of activities and learning on their Okinawan identity, I asked, “Did

these activities and learning influence your Okinawan identity?” and “Did these activities and learning about Hawai‘i influence your Okinawan identity?” See the interview questions in Appendix A.

**Survey.** In addition to the interviews, I conducted a survey to collect participants’ demographic information. The survey also asked the participants to rate the degree to which the participants thought of themselves as Okinawan and Japanese separately on a scale of 1 to 10. The questions were “To what degree do you think you are Okinawan?” and “To what degree do you think you are Japanese?” Participants who participated in the face-to-face interviews completed the survey right before their interview. The participants who I interviewed via Skype completed the survey at a time separate from the interview and sent the survey to me via email. Eighteen participants completed the survey. One person whom I interviewed via Skype did not submit the survey. I used participants’ responses to the question about the degree of their Okinawan and Japanese identities for an analysis of participants’ identification and used their responses to the questions about the length of stay in Hawai‘i for an analysis of time and its relation to identity. The original purpose of this survey was to measure their Okinawan and Japanese identities and examine a relation between the length of stay and Okinawan identity development by using inferential statistics, but I did not apply inferential statistics due to the limited number of cases. See the survey questions in Appendix B.

### **Data Analysis**

Data analysis mainly comprised of two parts: (a) descriptive statistics of participants’ identification based on the survey and interview data, and (b) a qualitative analysis of Okinawan identity salience and development based on the interview data by employing the grounded theory. The first part was a brief description of the degree to which the participants identified

themselves as Okinawans and Japanese. I compared the means of the degrees of their self-identification as Okinawan and Japanese, and the number of the participants who had greater degree of Okinawan identity than its Japanese counterpart, and vice versa.

In the second part, which was the main analysis of this research, I developed and incorporated concepts by thoroughly looking through the interview data, which enabled me to produce a core category. The core category is composed of the constructed subcategories (specific and detailed concepts), categories (abstract and higher-level concepts), conditions, and contexts to explain a process of Okinawan identity development in Hawai‘i. In the grounded theory, categories “represent relevant phenomena and enable analysts to reduce, combine, and integrate data” (Corbin & Strauss, 2014, p. 220). Conditions refer to reasons and explanations that participants give to describe why things happened and they reacted, and contexts locate and explain “action-interaction within a background of conditions and anticipated consequences” (Corbin & Strauss, 2014, p. 153). A core category is abstract, represents the main concept of the research, and relates all other concepts.

Properties and dimensions are other important aspects of a grounded theory analysis to characterize, differentiate, and deepen concepts. An example of properties and dimensions is that a property of flight is duration. Duration ranges from short to long, which is the dimension of the property, or variation within the property (Corbin & Strauss, 2014). I employed these ideas of properties and dimensions for my analysis.

Through my analysis and coding, I utilized these concepts and ideas to exemplify a phenomenon of self-identification as Okinawan and Okinawan consciousness and identity salience and development. For instance, I aimed to detect reasons and explanations of participants’ experiences of self-identification as Okinawan and Okinawan consciousness and

identity salience and development (condition) in broader situations (context). I added more detailed descriptions of their experiences within the conditions to represent and clarify that phenomenon (categories and subcategories). I utilized properties and dimensions for an analysis of a process of Okinawan identity development in Hawai'i to delineate the degree of self-identification as Okinawan and Okinawan consciousness and identity salience and development. Lastly, I constructed the core category that related and integrated all the subcategories, categories, conditions, contexts, properties, and dimensions to depict the process of Okinawan identity development in Hawai'i, and created an integrative diagram to visualize and outline the process.

Grounded theory researchers draw on interpretations when they analyze data; that is, they convey meaning and make meanings out of data in the form of concepts (Corbin & Strauss, 2014). From a constructivist viewpoint, researchers construct concepts and theories based on stories that participants construct in order to describe their experiences. Another important notion is sensitivity that is contrary to objectivity. Rather than imposing meanings on data, I used sensitivity to pick up on cues relevant to my research interests during data collection and analysis. Placing myself in the participants' position and gaining professional knowledge and experience enhanced my sensitivity.

With the grounded theory by Corbin and Strauss, I conducted theoretical sampling based on the previously constructed concepts to investigate a process of Okinawan identity development in Hawai'i by developing and updating the subcategories, categories, conditions, contexts, properties, dimensions, and core category from an interpretative and constructivist perspective with sensitivity.

## **My Role as Researcher**

I am currently a doctoral candidate in the Department of Educational Psychology at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. I was born and raised in Okinawa, and am of Okinawan ancestry. I graduated from elementary, junior high, and high schools as well as a university in Okinawa. Because I grew up with my family, relatives, friends, and people in Okinawa, and was exposed to environments, communities, and society in Okinawa, I identify myself as Okinawan. I was in Hawai‘i for about 12 years as an undergraduate and graduate student. I was a member of the Okinawan Club for about four years and a half, and was a co-chair for about one year. I occasionally participated in Okinawan community events. I learned about Hawai‘i by interacting with people, taking courses, and reading books and articles. I knew some of the participants, and engaged in some activities together. I myself experienced Okinawan consciousness and identity salience and development after I came to Hawai‘i. My background, experiences, and learning in Okinawa, Hawai‘i, the Okinawan Club, and Okinawan community events were helpful to interpret participants’ experiences and feelings and to construct concepts. While those of my experiences were useful, it was possible that my analysis and interpretation could have been biased due to my experiences. In order to guard against possible biases, when I constructed concepts I used the words and phrases the participants mentioned as much as possible, and paid attention to actual statements that connected their experiences to their self-identification as Okinawan and Okinawan consciousness and identity salience and development, instead of relying on my experiences.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Results**

This chapter starts with a brief description of the survey results that show participants' identification as Okinawan and Japanese. The following section provides the constructed concepts in the previous and current studies. The third section depicts foundational and developmental phases of the process of Okinawan identity development in Hawai'i based on the interviews pertaining to self-identification as Okinawan, spaces where their Okinawan consciousness was provoked, influences of activities and learning regarding Okinawa and Hawai'i, and developmental aspects of Okinawan identity. In the last part of this chapter, I integrated the constructed concepts to produce the core category of "being more Okinawan in Hawai'i."

#### **Participants' Identification**

I analyzed participants' Okinawan and Japanese identities based on the survey and interviews using descriptive statistics. The means of their Okinawan and Japanese identities were 8.22 and 6.11 on a scale of 1 to 10, respectively. Twelve participants reported that the degree of their Okinawan identity was greater than that of their Japanese identity, while one participant's response was the opposite. For five participants, the degree of their Okinawan and Japanese identities was the same. During the interviews, 10 participants described themselves as Okinawan more than as Japanese, whereas four participants responded in the other way. Among the rest of the participants, the comparison between Okinawan and Japanese identities was not clear. Thus, the participants reported both Okinawan and Japanese identities, but generally speaking the degree of their Okinawan identity was higher than their Japanese one, although some had a stronger Japanese identity than an Okinawan one.

## Constructed Concepts Regarding Self-Identification, Consciousness, and Identity as Okinawan

Table 2 shows the contexts, conditions, categories, and subcategories constructed in the previous and current research. In the following section, I explicate how I coded these concepts in detail and demonstrated how I related these constructed concepts to the process of Okinawan identity development among Okinawan university and college students in Hawai‘i.

Table 2

### *Constructed Concepts Regarding Self-Identification, Consciousness, and Identity as Okinawan*

Hawai‘i as a historical, social, cultural, and political environment		
Condition	Category	Subcategory
Okinawans and Okinawan cultures in Hawai‘i	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Okinawan communities (spaces)</li> <li>• Okinawan events and activities (spaces)</li> <li>• People’s recognition of Okinawans</li> <li>• Interactions with Okinawan descendants</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Accessibility to being Okinawan</li> </ul>
Learning about Hawai‘i (history, culture, sense of value, custom, mythology, kingship, language, cultural conflict, indigeneity, renaissance, cultural revitalization movement, education, farming, industry, and natural resource management)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reflection on Okinawa through similarities between Hawai‘i and Okinawa (islands, deprivation of kingship, land, education, and negative feeling toward the majority)</li> <li>• Reflection on Okinawa</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pride of being Okinawan</li> <li>• Being Okinawan only in knowing about Okinawan culture and history</li> <li>• Applicability to Okinawa</li> </ul>
Being in a culturally and ethnically diverse environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Comparison between Hawai‘i and Okinawa</li> <li>• Being not-the-majority</li> <li>• Living with identity and ethnicity as Okinawan</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Encountering strong Hawaiian identity</li> <li>• Connection to Okinawa</li> <li>• Ancestors’ teaching</li> <li>• Role model</li> <li>• Indigeneity</li> </ul>

Spaces promoting Okinawan consciousness and identity		
Condition	Category	Subcategory
Participating/involving in Okinawan communities (Okinawan Club and Hui Okinawa)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recognizing oneself as Okinawan</li> <li>• Maintenance of Okinawan identity</li> <li>• Contributing to and inspiring Okinawan identity</li> <li>• Space to be able to express Okinawan identity</li> <li>• Increased opportunities to think and learn about Okinawa</li> <li>• Teaching others about Okinawa</li> <li>• Interacting with club members</li> <li>• Taking a role as a representative of Okinawa</li> <li>• Sharing cultural heritage</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recognition</li> <li>• Responsibility</li> <li>• Responsibility</li> <li>• Sharing dialect and intonation</li> </ul>
Participating/involving in Okinawan events and activities (Okinawan Festival, Uchinanchu Talk Story, and film event)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cultural activities</li> <li>• Okinawan pride</li> <li>• Sharing culture</li> <li>• Discussing the U.S. military base issues</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Becoming emotional</li> <li>• Okinawan bond</li> </ul>

### The Process of Okinawan Identity Development in Hawai‘i

I constructed three phases of Okinawan identity development in Hawai‘i, including (a) the two foundational phases, namely self-identification as Okinawan in Hawai‘i as well as Okinawan consciousness and identity salience; and (b) the developmental phase of a strengthened sense of Okinawan identity. Table 3 shows the number of participants who



experienced the phase(s), and Table 4 depicts the number of participants who experienced the phase(s) in detail.

Table 3

*The Number of Participants Who Experienced the Phase(s)*

Phase	Participants <i>n</i>
(a) Self-identification as Okinawan in Hawai‘i	13
(b) Okinawan consciousness and identity salience	13
(c) A strengthened sense of Okinawan identity	9

Table 4

*The Number of Participants Who Experienced the Phase(s) in Detail*

Phase	Participants <i>n</i>
No experience in any phases	3
(a) only	3
(a) and (b)	2
(b) only	2
(b) and (c)	1
All phases	8
Total	19

I started with the foundational phase of self-identification as Okinawan in Hawai‘i. The order of the foundational phases did not indicate that participants had to go through the self-identification phase in order to move on to the consciousness and identity salience phase. The reason is that three participants did not show their experience of the foundational phase of self-identification as Okinawan in Hawai‘i, but experienced the other foundational phase of Okinawan consciousness and identity salience, as seen in Table 4.

**The foundational phase of self-identification as Okinawan in Hawai‘i.** The categories pertaining to the foundational phase of self-identification as Okinawan in Hawai‘i include “people’s recognition of Okinawa” and “interactions with Okinawan descendants” within the

condition of “Okinawans and Okinawan cultures in Hawai‘i.” These categories and condition were constructed in my previous research. I also constructed categories with regard to situations in which the participants did not self-identify as Okinawan, but instead identified as Japanese. Those categories involve “non-recognition of Okinawa among people not from Hawai‘i” and “less frequent self-identification as Okinawan in Okinawa,” and were utilized to contrast with the categories of “people’s recognition of Okinawa” and “interactions with Okinawan descendants” to make explicit that self-identification as Okinawan through their experiences is more Hawai‘i-specific.

Thirteen out of 19 participants mentioned their experiences about self-identification as Okinawan in Hawai‘i. Eleven participants stated that they described themselves as Okinawan because people in Hawai‘i recognized Okinawans, which led to the category of “people’s recognition of Okinawa.” For example, Tomomi<sup>20</sup> stated that, “I directly say I am such and such from Okinawa because an Okinawan community knows about Okinawa, and many other race, other ethnic groups also know about Okinawa.” Mieko mentioned that,

I have emphasized that I am Uchinaanchu, Okinawan since I came to Hawai‘i. And, like, that’s maybe because locals living in Hawai‘i, and even non-locals, if you live in Hawai‘i, there are many people who distinguish between Japan and Okinawa . . . they are understandable, and, like, so if I say I am from Okinawa, I am Uchinaanchu, like, they accept it.

Similarly, Chiyo shared her experience:

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<sup>20</sup> All names of the participants are pseudonym.

Hm, maybe it's like an ethnic group . . . I am conscious of not Japanese, and it's like people around me make me feel in that way, if I say I am Okinawan, they understand it, although it may depend on places, I think partly because they recognize it.

These participants realized that in Hawai'i, not only did people in Okinawan communities know about Okinawa, but people in general also recognized Okinawa often. This enabled the Okinawan university and college students to self-identify as Okinawan.

Four participants said that they identified themselves as Okinawan when they interacted with Okinawan descendants, which led to the category of "interactions with Okinawan descendants." Takashi stated that, "For example, when I met Okinawan descendants, and nisei or sansei,<sup>21</sup> I explain that I am Okinawan, what to say, or really, good luck, something like a sense of common bonds, I think I re-recognize myself as Okinawan." When introducing himself as Okinawan to Okinawan descendants, Takashi self-identified and became more conscious as Okinawan. Kaede said that, "Usually, I am Japanese without caring, hmm, when it comes to Okinawan gatherings, I put myself in the category of Okinawa." While she considered herself as Japanese, she self-categorized as Okinawan when she was surrounded by people of Okinawan ancestry. Asako described her case:

Local Uchinaanchu in Hawai'i were discriminated against, and their children? descendants, so they are really proud of being Okinawan, and I think it is different from the [U.S.] mainland. I cannot express myself that much, after all it is a minority within a minority in white society. But it is different in Hawai'i, there are immigrants' yonsei and

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<sup>21</sup> Nisei and sansei refer to second and third generations, respectively.

gosei,<sup>22</sup> and they are really proud of being Uchinaanchu, so when I get together with them I can hold myself and be proud of being Uchinaanchu.

She felt proud of being Uchinaanchu when she interacted with those of Okinawan ancestry who had Okinawan pride and whose ancestors experienced discrimination. She did not have such experience in the continental United States.

This self-identification discussed above is possibly a more Hawai‘i-specific phenomenon, which can be evident from Asako’s case above and the categories of “non-recognition of Okinawa among people not from Hawai‘i” and “less frequent self-identification as Okinawan in Okinawa,” which I explicate here. Thirteen participants depicted situations in which they did not describe themselves as Okinawan or even identified as Japanese instead when they introduced themselves or talked to those from the continental United States and foreign countries. Manabu shared his experience:

To those people [in Hawai‘i] I think I introduce myself as Okinawan immediately. Most of them understand, but I don’t think Americans from the mainland usually know about Okinawa. In that case, Japanese, and then asked where I come from, then Okinawa, something like that.

He identified himself as Japanese when he met Americans although he self-identified as Okinawan when he introduced himself to locals in Hawai‘i. Similarly, other participants mentioned that they described themselves as Japanese when they talked to foreigners or those who did not seem to know much about Okinawa and Japan. Some shared their experiences in the continental United States where they identified as Japanese. Based on their experiences, I

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<sup>22</sup> Yonsei and gosei refer to fourth and fifth generations, respectively.

constructed the subcategories of “not being Okinawan” and “becoming Japanese” within the category of “non-recognition of Okinawa among people not from Hawai‘i.”

As cases of less frequent self-identification as Okinawan, seven participants stated that they did not describe themselves as Okinawan in Okinawa. For instance, Misa said that,

I don’t do it [say that I am Okinawan] in particular when I am in Okinawa because everybody is Okinawan . . . . Maybe, it is unnecessary to say because everybody speaks on the premise that you are Okinawan.

Rather than expressing themselves as Okinawan, some of the participants mentioned their hometown, showing their regional identities, when they interacted with Okinawans in Okinawa. Misa stated that in Okinawa she took everything Okinawan for granted and it was difficult to be conscious of being Okinawan. Kiyomi said that she was unaware of differences between Okinawa and Japan because she interacted mostly with Okinawans in Okinawa. Based on their experiences, it appears that the category of “less frequent self-identification as Okinawan in Okinawa” subsumes the subcategories of “regional identity,” “taking everything Okinawan for granted,” and “unaware of the differences between Okinawa and Japan.”

***The property and dimension.*** This concept of self-identification as Okinawan in Hawai‘i has the property of frequency. Frequency of being Okinawan fluctuated depending on where Okinawan university and college students were, more specifically in Hawai‘i, Okinawa, or the continental United States. Also, the frequency varied according to interactions with people, including locals and Okinawan descendants in Hawai‘i, Okinawans, Americans, and foreigners. In terms of a dimension, or a variation within the property, high and low demonstrated the dimension of frequency. That is, the frequency of Okinawan university and college students’

self-identification as Okinawan was likely to be higher when they interacted with people in Hawai‘i and Okinawan descendants in Hawai‘i.

**Summary.** After the Okinawan university and college students came to Hawai‘i where Okinawans and Okinawan cultures existed, they interacted with people in Hawai‘i, and realized that many of them recognized Okinawans as a separate group from Japanese. This recognition enabled the students to self-identify as Okinawan. Also, among these people in Hawai‘i, there were those of Okinawan ancestry, and interactions with them made students self-identify as Okinawan and become prouder of being Okinawan. However, it was not always the case when they interacted with people who were not from Hawai‘i because it was unlikely that those people knew about Okinawa. In addition, it is likely that the students’ self-identification and consciousness as Okinawan in Okinawa were not as frequent or salient as in Hawai‘i. These cases indicated that self-identification as Okinawan would be likely to happen within the condition of “Okinawans and Okinawan cultures in Hawai‘i,” which subsumed the categories of “people’s recognition of Okinawans” and “interactions with Okinawan descendants.” These cases also illustrated variable, fluctuating, and situational aspects of Okinawan identity, and the foundational phase of self-identification as Okinawan in Hawai‘i as a more Hawai‘i-specific phenomenon. It was likely that the more Okinawan students had opportunities to interact with people in Hawai‘i and those of Okinawan ancestry, the more frequently they self-identified as Okinawan.

**The foundational phase of Okinawan consciousness and identity salience.** In my previous research, I constructed the subcategories, categories, conditions, contexts, and core category in terms of Okinawan consciousness and identity salience and development among Okinawan university students studying in Hawai‘i. I discussed that it would be necessary to

further explore spaces where Okinawan consciousness and identity would be promoted, and the condition of “learning about Hawaiians.” In addition to these suggested areas, I constructed a new condition, categories, and subcategories for the current study in the context of “Hawai‘i as a historical, social, cultural, and political environment.” This section delves into these aspects of Okinawan consciousness and identity.

***Spaces promoting Okinawan consciousness and identity.*** Eight participants indicated the influence of their activities and learning in spaces on their Okinawan identity. These spaces included Okinawan communities (Okinawan Club and Hui Okinawa) and Okinawan events and activities (the Okinawan Festival, Uchinanchu Talk Story 2 and 3, and the film event that showed *The Targeted Village*).

***Participating/involving in Okinawan communities.*** Some of the Okinawan university and college students participated and involved in Okinawan communities, such as the Okinawan Club and Hui Okinawa. Members of the Okinawan Club were university and college students and those who were interested in learning about Okinawa. The Okinawan Club was recognized as a space promoting Okinawan consciousness and identity in my previous research. Takashi stated that, “One of the activities of the Okinawan Club is to recognize oneself as Okinawan on a daily basis, and in terms of this, yes, I think it created identity.” Yumi shared her experience in the continental United States where people viewed her as Japanese and she did not hail herself as Okinawan, and said that, “in the Okinawan Club, I think it was easier for me to maintain my Okinawan identity.” Based on their experiences, the categories of “recognizing oneself as Okinawan” and “maintenance of Okinawan identity” were constructed.

The other space of Okinawan communities was Hui Okinawa, which was established in 1946 and comprises of about 450 member families, including about 750 individuals (Hui

Okinawa, n.d.). One of the purposes of Hui Okinawa is “to work together to preserve, and perpetuate the Okinawan culture, and to work with the community for the betterment of our multi-ethnic population” (Hui Okinawa, n.d., p. para. 1). In Hui Okinawa, Marie participated in events, interacted with local Okinawans, and learned about their lives and efforts to maintain Okinawan culture. Marie reflected that Hui Okinawa functioned in a way that, “[i]t contributed to my identity as Okinawan more.” She also recalled that her Okinawan identity was inspired through her activities and learning in Hui Okinawa. “Contributing to and inspiring Okinawan identity” is the category constructed in this space.

*Participating/involving in Okinawan events and activities.* In my previous research, I constructed “Okinawan events and activities” as a category in the condition of “Okinawans and Okinawan cultures in Hawai‘i,” and one of the participants stated that her Okinawan identity became salient through Okinawa-specific events and activities. In this current research, I constructed the condition of “participating/involving in Okinawan events and activities” to explore students’ experiences in Okinawan events and activities and its influences on their Okinawan consciousness and identity. The Okinawan events and activities the students participated and involved in included the Okinawan Festival, Uchinanchu Talk Story 2 and 3, and the film event that showed *The Targeted Village*.

The Okinawan Festival is an annual event that was first held in 1982 and is organized by more than 2,000 volunteers, attracting over 50,000 people all over the world (A Brief History of the Okinawan Festival, n.d.). Performers showcased Okinawan cultural music and dance, and volunteers run cultural, food, and shopping booths to share Okinawan culture. Mitsuo shared his experience at the festival:



[W]hen I witnessed those who were proud [of being Okinawan], I realized that I am Okinawan and have lived in Okinawa, and I really thought that I have to think about Okinawa seriously. In this sense, my identity became stronger to some degree.

Asako joined the festival as a performer, and “I learned the importance of sharing culture with many people and letting people know about this culture through music, this was really influential to me.” Experiencing peoples’ Okinawan pride and sharing Okinawan culture through performance in the event had an impact on the participants’ Okinawan identity. “Okinawan pride” and “sharing culture” were the categories regarding Okinawan consciousness and identity salience in the space of the Okinawan Festival.

Uchinanchu Talk Story (UTS) is another event in which some participants experienced influences on their Okinawan identity through activities and learning. UTS is a conference and forum in which Okinawans and those who are interested in Okinawa participate in, learn from speakers, and share their thoughts and experiences with other participants. World Uchinanchu Business Association (WUB) organizes UTS. The themes of UTS were related to Okinawa and included networking, diversity, identity, the U.S. military bases in Okinawa, longevity, and the like. Chiyo participated in UTS as a member of the forum planning committee and at that time, the theme of UTS was the U.S. military bases in Okinawa. She stated that,

As the conference was Okinawa-specific, I had no choice but to be conscious . . . . I thought it was impossible to take the emotion out of the discussion, and I was thinking what is right and what is not right.

Chiyo expressed her struggle with thinking about the U.S. military base issues in Okinawa, and her experiences of becoming emotional and not being able to escape from being conscious as

Okinawan. From her experience, I constructed the category of “discussing the U.S. military base issues,” and the subcategory of “becoming emotional.”

The last event I discuss is the film screening of *The Targeted Village* that was organized by a doctoral student at a university. The film was a documentary about the U.S. military base issues in Okinawa, specifically focusing on oppositions of the residents of Takae, a community in the northern part of Okinawa Island, to the construction of the helicopter landing zones in the U.S. military’s Northern Training Area (Kurokawa, 2013). Attending the film screening was part of Shun’s activities and learning that influenced his Okinawan identity. He stated that, “I became conscious of and confident in being from Okinawa and having Okinawan blood . . . I was able to know about Okinawa’s U.S. military problem a little, and explain it to other people a little.” He also recalled that he saw Okinawan bonding in the situation where Okinawans struggled with the U.S. military base issues in the film, and felt proud of having Okinawan blood when he recognized Okinawans’ solidarity and mutual help to overcome the difficulties. For Shun, Okinawan identity meant, “knowing about Okinawan culture and language. You can say you are Okinawan only in knowing about Okinawa.” The film screening was the space where he became confident, proud, and conscious as Okinawan by knowing about Okinawa. In the category of “discussing the U.S. military base issues,” I included the subcategory of “Okinawan bond.”

***Hawai‘i as a historical, social, cultural, and political environment.*** Activities and learning related to Hawai‘i also appeared to be influential to Okinawan consciousness and identity. Eight participants expressed that their activities and learning about Hawai‘i had an effect on their Okinawan identity. Also, eight participants, including some who were also in the previous group of eight, stated that being in Hawai‘i in general influenced their Okinawan

identity. This section demonstrates the constructed concepts based on their experiences and learning regarding Hawai‘i.

*Learning about Hawai‘i.* The condition of “learning about Hawaiians” was constructed in my previous research; however, I recoded it as “learning about Hawai‘i” based on participants’ experiences in the current research that broadened the condition.

First, I constructed “reflection on Okinawa through similarities between Hawai‘i and Okinawa” as a category based on participants’ activities and learning about Hawai‘i and its impact on their Okinawan identity. Tomomi volunteered for a field trip to a local elementary school. The purpose of the field trip was to learn about Hawaiian culture and tradition, and there were three Native Hawaiian teachers. Through learning about the history, culture, industry, renaissance, and cultural revitalization movement in Hawai‘i, Tomomi was encouraged and had hope for Okinawa. She recognized similarities between Hawai‘i and Okinawa, became more interested in Okinawa, and reflected on Okinawa’s situation by comparing Hawai‘i and Okinawa. As for influences of these activities and learning, she said that, “in Hawai‘i, teachers had strong Hawaiian identity, and were passionate about the succession of culture, and enthusiastically taught to children. I thought I want to have pride of being Okinawan when I interact with children.” Her experiences led to the constructed subcategory of “pride of being Okinawan.”

Shun took a Hawaiian ethnic studies course and learned about Hawaiian culture, history, sense of value, and custom. Through his learning about Hawai‘i, he became more interested in knowing about Okinawa because he saw the similarities between Hawai‘i and Okinawa in terms of islands and the history and deprivation of kingship. His learning about Hawai‘i impacted his Okinawan identity:

I learned from the Hawai‘i ethnic studies course that you can say that you are from that land only in knowing about the land, culture, and history. So, I myself, I thought that I can say I am Okinawan only in knowing about Okinawan culture and history.

Through his awareness of the similarities between Hawai‘i and Okinawa, he became interested in knowing about Okinawa more and realized that that was the way to become Okinawan more, which resulted in the constructed subcategory of “being Okinawan only in knowing about Okinawan culture and history.”

Chiyo took an education class through which she became aware of similar positions among Hawaiians, native Americans, and Okinawans in the context of education. She thought about applicability of education programs to Okinawa’s situation. As part of the class, she learned about the Kamehameha Early Education Program (KEEP). KEEP was a research and development program that aimed to provide the development, demonstration, and dissemination of methods for the improvement of the education among Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian children in the public schools (Tharp & Gallimore, 1975). One of the key elements of KEEP was cultural compatibility, referring to the development of school curriculum and teaching styles that were compatible with the culture of Hawaiian children (Jordan, 1985). Chiyo reflected that learning from the class influenced her Okinawan identity through thinking about applicability of ideas of KEEP to Okinawa’s situation. From her reflection, I coded the subcategory of “applicability to Okinawa.”

Manabu had a chance to talk with a Hawaiian person and noticed that the person expressed feelings that were similar to Okinawans in terms of the history of the deprivation of the land and negative feeling toward the majority. Manabu also learned about natural resource management in Hawai‘i. He said that Native Hawaiians tried to make natural resources

sustainable because resources were limited. Long ago, fishing was sustained well, but nowadays, there were fewer fish due to overfishing. The situation in Hawai‘i made him think about his interested area of coral reef preservation and how to make Okinawa sustainable in this regard. He stated that his interaction with the Hawaiian person influenced his Okinawan identity in a way that provoked him to think about Okinawa.

Some participants did not necessarily mention similarities between Hawai‘i and Okinawa; whereas, they reflected on Okinawa’s situations through their activities and learning about Hawai‘i, which influenced their Okinawan identity. I constructed the second category of “reflection on Okinawa” in the condition of “learning about Hawai‘i” based on the following participants’ experiences.

Marie took Hawaiian studies courses in which she learned about the history, mythology, kingship of Hawai‘i, and the history of the Hawaiian language. She also enrolled in a Hawaiian certificate program through which she completed fieldwork at cultural sites, such as a fishpond, where she experienced hands-on activities related to Hawaiian culture. In addition, she learned hula while she was in Hawai‘i. She stated that, “through learning about Hawaiian culture, my identity is Okinawa, whatever I learn, all in all, linkage, connecting to Okinawa inside me, through Hawai‘i I learned about my identity, through Hawai‘i I thought of what to do with Okinawa.” While she learned about Hawai‘i, she reflected on Okinawa’s situation and felt a connection to Okinawa through her Okinawan identity. I coded the subcategory of “connection to Okinawa.”

Through her program, Asako learned about taro farming, history, water preservation, and nature in Hawai‘i. She was impressed by knowing that Hawaiian people cherished taro as life in

their lives, and taught people and students who came to Hawai‘i about how important taro and nature were to native people. She recalled that,

it is really meaningful that native people in the land implement their ancestors’ teaching.

I felt that the culture and teaching continue to live only because they do . . . . I myself have to learn about ancestors’ teaching and importance of those who deliver the teaching, and have to be one of them. In this sense, I became more conscious of my identity.

Through activities of taro farming and learning about Hawaiians’ cherishing ancestral teaching, her Okinawan identity became more salient. Based on her experience, I constructed the subcategory of “ancestors’ teaching.”

As part of learning through the student association in his department, Eikichi had a chance to learn from a Hawaiian instructor from the Hawaiian Studies Center about Hawaiians’ lives, farming, and mythology, and a cultural conflict with a hotel. He also learned the importance of ancestor worship through the Polynesian Cultural Center, where visitors experienced showcased and represented cultures of Hawai‘i. Eikichi mentioned that these examples were a role model for Okinawa: “[A] role model to refer to . . . ways, attitudes, I don’t mean to directly apply, but, um, preserving theirs [their culture] in multi cultures [the multicultural environment], then, what about us? Something like that.” These examples functioned as a role model for Okinawa’s situation to think about how to preserve Okinawan culture. Through these activities and learning, Eikichi felt that he had to proudly have Okinawan identity. Here, I coded the subcategory of “role model.”

Considering Okinawans as indigenous people was an element that influenced Mieko’s Okinawan identity. She remembered that, “awareness that maybe we are indigenous people would not have happened if I did not see Hawaiians.” Learning about Native Hawaiians as

indigenous people triggered Mieko's attention to a possibility of Okinawans as indigenous people. The subcategory of "indigeneity" was derived from her experience.

In addition to the categories of "reflection on Okinawa through similarities between Hawai'i and Okinawa" and "reflection on Okinawa," I constructed the third category of "comparison between Hawai'i and Okinawa." Yumi reflected that she reconsidered Okinawa because she was in Hawai'i, and "the history and the current situation are similar, but different in some points, and there were some things that I was aware of by comparing and contrasting." While some participants mentioned similarities between Hawai'i and Okinawa, Yumi pointed out that there were some differences as well. Comparing and contrasting Hawai'i and Okinawa made similarities as well as differences explicit, which made Yumi aware of many things and influenced her Okinawan identity.

*Being in a culturally and ethnically diverse environment.* I developed the condition of "being in a culturally and ethnically diverse environment" in my previous research. To this condition, I added the new category of "living with identity and ethnicity as Okinawan," drawing on Tomomi's comment:

Hawai'i is an ethnically diverse environment and society where there are various ethnic groups, and people have strong feelings for their ethnicity instead of living as American. If so, I learned in Hawai'i that Japanese, while I am Japanese although not being 100%, I can live with identity and ethnicity as Okinawan.

*The property and dimension.* Through the coding, it appeared that Okinawan university and college students' Okinawan consciousness and identity became salient through activities and learning in the contexts of spaces and Hawai'i. The property of Okinawan consciousness and identity salience can be intensity. High and low represented the dimension of intensity. That is,

the intensity of students' Okinawan consciousness and identity was likely to be higher when they engaged in activities and learning about Okinawa and Hawai'i in the spaces and in Hawai'i.

**Summary.** These results showed that some Okinawan university and college students had opportunities to participate and involve in Okinawan communities, events, and activities. Through activities and learning in those spaces, their Okinawan consciousness and identity were promoted. Also, Hawai'i was an environment where the students could learn about Hawai'i, which influenced their Okinawan consciousness and identity. Some of them reflected on Okinawa's situation by being aware of the similarities between Hawai'i and Okinawa, and learning about Hawai'i. Some compared and contrasted Hawai'i and Okinawa, and started thinking about indigeneity of Okinawans. Hawai'i was also an environment that was culturally and ethnically diverse where one student realized that she could live as Okinawan as her identity and ethnicity while she self-identified as Japanese. As these activities and learning are related to Hawai'i, the foundational phase of Okinawan consciousness and identity salience can be considered more Hawai'i-specific. It was likely that their Okinawan consciousness and identity salience became more intense when they were more engaged in activities and learning about Okinawa and Hawai'i.

**The developmental phase of a strengthened sense of Okinawan identity.** In this section, I examined participants' experiences of having stronger Okinawan identity than before to exemplify developmental aspects of Okinawan identity. Nine participants indicated that their Okinawan identity became stronger than before. Eight participants portrayed their experiences regarding the foundational phases of self-identification as Okinawan in Hawai'i and Okinawan consciousness and identity salience. One participant shared his experience of Okinawan



consciousness and identity salience, but did not indicate that of self-identification as Okinawan in Hawai‘i.

The average of the length of stay in Hawai‘i among those who experienced a strengthened sense of Okinawan identity was 17.6 months, which was fewer than that of those who did not experience it (23.1) and that of all participants (20.5). The lengths of stay in Hawai‘i among three (24, 31, and 48 months) out of the nine participants who experienced the developmental phase exceeded the average of the length of stay in Hawai‘i, but those among six (8, 9, 9, 9, 10, and 10 months) were fewer than the average. These descriptive statistics indicated that the length of stay in Hawai‘i itself might not be a crucial indicator for a strengthened sense of Okinawan identity. Below I introduced students’ experiences of a strengthened sense of Okinawan identity.

Takaaki stated that, “Well, it recently dramatically changed, especially, uh, I had had Okinawan identity and Okinawan consciousness when I was in Okinawa, but I think it became stronger and more added after I left Okinawa and lived in Hawai‘i.” Akira mentioned that, “Yes, I think it became stronger. All the activities as well, my Okinawan identity became stronger. I am prouder.” Manabu said that,

Compared to three years ago, about Okinawa, thinking myself as Uchinaanchu, well I don’t know what Uchinaanchu means, for me, but I think I am Uchinaanchu. So I want to contribute to Okinawans someday. I think my identity expanded, as Uchinaanchu, in a way, that I set up such a goal.

For Tomomi and Kaede, Okinawan communities were influential to their Okinawan identity, as shown in their following statements respectively: “As Okinawan, in this big community . . . I think my identity became stronger because they taught me how to live as Okinawan, as

Okinawan with pride.” “[S]tudy abroad, I interacted with people from the Hawaii United Okinawa Association, and now my consciousness as a person of Okinawa Prefecture became stronger than before.”

***The property and dimension.*** Strength can be the property in the developmental phase of a strengthened sense of Okinawan identity. High and low demonstrated the dimension of strength. That is, the more Okinawan university and college students self-identified as Okinawan and their Okinawan consciousness and identities became salient through their experiences in Hawai‘i, the higher the strength of their sense of Okinawan identity was likely to become.

***Summary.*** The contexts of “Hawai‘i as a historical, social, cultural, and political environment” and “spaces promoting Okinawan consciousness and identity” provided the Okinawan university and college students with the conditions, such as “Okinawans and Okinawan cultures in Hawai‘i,” “learning about Hawai‘i,” and “being in a culturally and ethnically diverse environment” in the former, and “participating/involving in Okinawan communities” and “participating/involving in Okinawan events and activities” in the latter. Through their activities, learning, interactions, and experiences described in the foundational phases, frequency of their self-identification as Okinawan and intensity of Okinawan consciousness and identity salience were likely to become higher. Continuation of their activities, learning, interactions, and experiences heightened their self-identification as Okinawan and Okinawan consciousness and identity salience in these conditions over time, and might have resulted in their strengthened sense of Okinawan identity.

## **Integration**

This section delineates relations between the concepts, such as the categories, conditions, contexts, properties, dimensions, phases, and core category that I constructed in the previous and

current research, and explains the process of Okinawan identity development in Hawai‘i. The core category was “being more conscious as Okinawan in Hawai‘i” in my previous research. However, I recoded it as “being more Okinawan in Hawai‘i” to encompass all the concepts constructed in the previous and current research.

Figure 2 below shows the relations of the concepts in a way that demonstrates how Okinawan university and college students were being more Okinawan in Hawai‘i. Specifically, the diagram depicts the foundational and developmental phases of “being more Okinawan in Hawai‘i,” such as self-identification as Okinawan in Hawai‘i, Okinawan consciousness and identity salience, and a strengthened sense of Okinawan identity, with the properties (frequency, intensity, and strength) in each phase within the contexts of spaces and Hawai‘i. Dotted lines between the phases and dotted arrows across the phases indicate interrelations between the phases and fluctuation of students’ experiences of being more Okinawan in certain situations and time in order to avoid implying fixed and stabilized stages of development. The dotted arrows across the phases are bidirectional, demonstrating that students’ experiences in one phase may influence those in another phase, instead of separating each phase as independent.

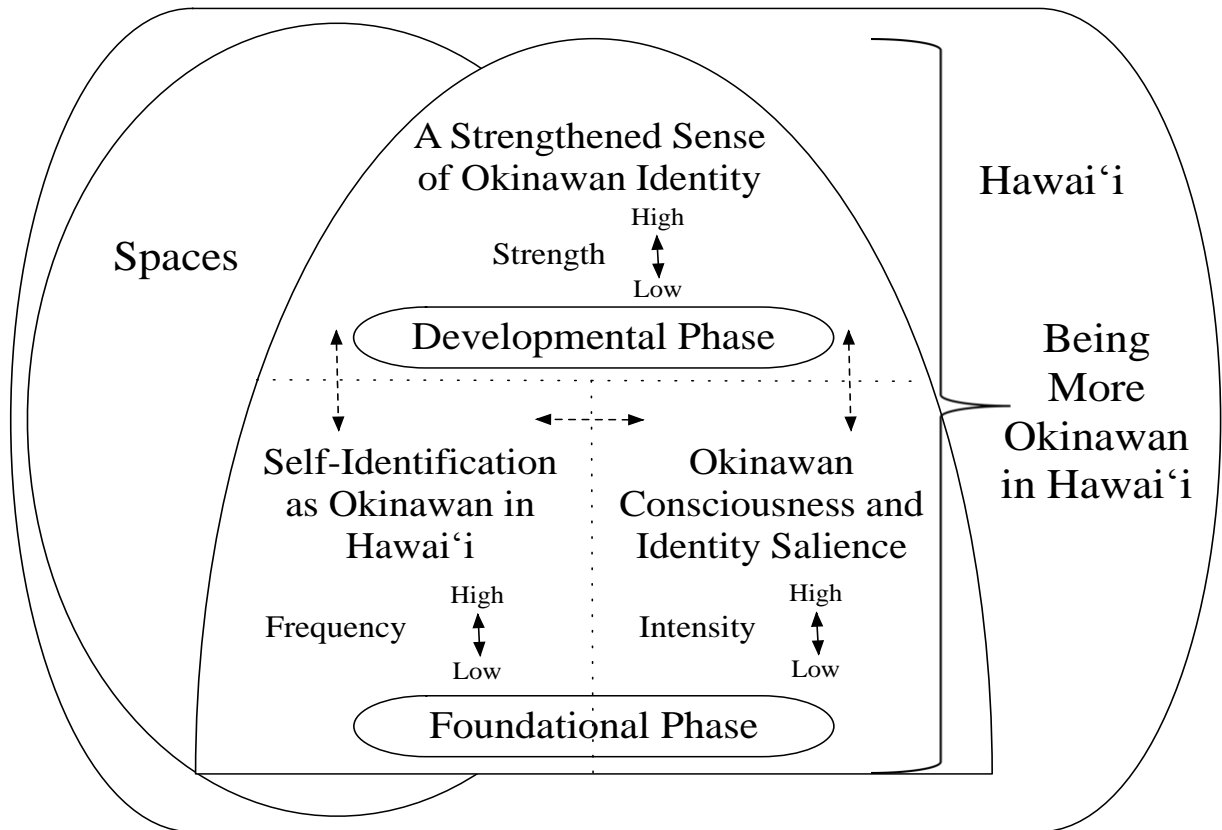


Figure 2. The integrative diagram of being more Okinawan in Hawai'i

After Okinawan university and college students came to Hawai'i, they had more chances to introduce and describe themselves as Okinawan because they gradually realized that people in Hawai'i recognized Okinawan as a distinct group separated from Japanese, and there were people of Okinawan ancestry living in Hawai'i. This self-identification as Okinawan in Hawai'i was more frequent than when they were in Okinawa and in the continental United States and when they interacted with those who seemed not to know about Okinawa and Japan. Okinawan university and college students became involved in activities and learning about Okinawa to explore. Because of the efforts of Okinawans and other people in Hawai'i to maintain Okinawan culture, there were spaces where Okinawan university and college students could be more conscious as Okinawan through activities and learning.

Okinawan university and college students had opportunities to learn about Hawai‘i through which their Okinawan consciousness and identity became more salient. Students realized similarities between Hawai‘i and Okinawa, and learning about Hawai‘i helped them to reflect on the situations of Okinawa to think about how to improve Okinawa and solve Okinawa’s problems. One student thought about Okinawans’ indigeneity through learning about Hawaiians as indigenous people. In addition, in Hawai‘i as an ethnically diverse environment where people cherish their ethnic identities, a choice of being Okinawan as an ethnic identity emerged for one student.

The results indicated that the more frequently Okinawan university and college students self-identified as Okinawan and the more intense their Okinawan consciousness and identity salience became, it was likely that their Okinawan identity became stronger. This process depicts Okinawan identity development among Okinawan university and college students in Hawai‘i. In addition, as their activities, learning, interactions, and experiences in Hawai‘i influenced their self-identification, consciousness, and identity as Okinawan in the process of Okinawan identity development, it can be said that this process is a more Hawai‘i-specific phenomenon.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Discussion**

In this chapter, I triangulate the constructed concepts of “being more Okinawan in Hawai‘i” with the extant literature on Okinawans in Hawai‘i, Hawaiian history, politics, and education, and Okinawans’ indigeneity in order to contextualize and clarify historical, social, cultural, and political aspects. Then, I discuss and situate the study results in the research areas of development, identity, and learning in a sociocultural perspective.

#### **Okinawans in Hawai‘i**

Okinawans are recognized as a distinct group from Japanese in Hawai‘i (Shirota, 2008). The Okinawan population in Hawai‘i was estimated to be more than 45,000 (Chinen, 2000). According to the U.S. Census data, the average number of people in Hawai‘i, between 2011 and 2015, who selected “Okinawan” as the race category in the question of race alone or in combination was 6,821, and “Okinawan” was ranked 12th among the other race categories (Hawaii State Department of Business, Economic Development & Tourism, 2017). Looking into the history of Okinawan experience in Hawai‘i is helpful to reveal how Okinawans have achieved recognition and maintained Okinawan identity in Hawai‘i.

The first group of Okinawan migrants arrived in Honolulu in 1900. One of them was rejected at the Honolulu Quarantine Station, and the remaining 26 of them were sent to Ewa Plantation to work as contract laborers (Sakihara, 1981a). From 1903 onward, Okinawans continued to migrate to Hawai‘i. The conceivable causes of the migration included an enthusiasm in Japan for national expansion, deferment of military conscription, the economic depression in Japan, economic opportunities in Hawai‘i, popularity of “going to Hawai‘i,” demand of plantation laborers in Hawai‘i, and the Hawai‘i plantation owners’ view that

Okinawans were suited to the climate in Hawai‘i as farm laborers (Kimura, 1962/1981). The Japanese government curtailed the number of emigrants to the United States and Hawai‘i based on the Gentleman’s Agreement of 1907–1908 between Japan and the United States, which affected the number of migrants from Okinawa. By 1908, 9,237 people from Okinawa were permitted to migrate to Hawai‘i (N. Asato, 1941). Under the Gentleman’s Agreement, those who were already in Hawai‘i were still allowed to call for their spouses and immediate family members. However, the implementation of the Immigration Act of 1924 excluded aliens ineligible for citizenship (Kimura, 1962/1981). The period between Gentleman’s Agreement and the Immigration Act was called *yobiyose jidai* (the period of summoning families). The number of Okinawan residents in Hawai‘i in 1924 was the fourth largest (16,536), following the other prefectures of Hiroshima (30,534), Yamaguchi (25,879), and Kumamoto (19,551), and comprised of 13.2% or 14.2% of the resident population from Japan (Kimura, 1968; Matsumoto, 1982). Issei, or the first generation Okinawans, experienced harsh conditions as laborers on the plantations in the early days. Some of them ran side businesses while working on the plantations and others left the plantations and started independent businesses (Matsumoto, 1982).

During the plantation period and henceforth, Okinawans met and interacted with Naichi<sup>23</sup> and experienced discrimination, which can be part of the components of dynamic Okinawan identity in Hawai‘i. Okinawans were the late arrivals compared to Naichi. At the time when the first group of Okinawan migrants came to Hawai‘i in 1900, the Naichi population was more than

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<sup>23</sup> The term means internal land, commonly used to refer to the prefectures and people from Japan other than Okinawa (Sakihara, 1981a). *Uchinaanchu* is the term used to distinguish between Okinawans and Naichi, which indicates the psychological distinction between Okinawa and Japan (Higa, 1972/1981; Matsumoto, 1982). Naichi is also commonly used in studies in the context of relationships between Okinawan and Japanese immigrants in Hawai‘i. I used the term Naichi in the history of the Okinawan–Naichi relationship in this paper.

60,000 and composed of almost 40% of the total population, and it is likely that Okinawans were located in the low position in the hierarchy of the Japanese community (Lebra, 1980). Through the interactions with Naichi, Okinawans were distinguished and discriminated against by Naichi due to Okinawa's distinct culture, custom, manners, physical traits in the Okinawan–Naichi relationship, and some felt inferiority, shame, resentment, ambivalence toward Okinawans and Naichi, as a consequence (Toyama & Ikeda, 1950/1981). It was rare for Okinawans to marry Japanese due to the discrimination (Higa, 1972/1981). Okinawans in Hawai'i experienced “double discrimination” as Asian workers in the haole (white) plantation system and a minority within the minority Japanese population (Chinen, 2010). While some dealt with the discrimination against Okinawans by assimilating themselves into the Japanese community or becoming “Japanese,” others responded to that discrimination by striving to improve economic standards, boosting confidence and pride in themselves through looking into Okinawan history and culture, forging a strong bond among themselves, and forming communities (Chinen, 2010; Kaneshiro, 2002; Miyasaki, 1981; Sakihara, 1981b). In addition, Kaneshiro (2002) pointed out that although Japanese “colonialism” and oppression by Naichi obscured Hawai'i-born Okinawans' identity, uniqueness of Okinawan culture and people as well as unification of Okinawans caused by the poor Okinawan–Naichi relationship contributed to Hawai'i-born Okinawans' identity. Thus, the experiences and history of the Okinawan–Naichi relationship and discrimination against Okinawans by Naichi wielded impacts on Okinawans' pride, unification, resurgence of the history and culture, community formation, and identity.

In addition to the Okinawan–Naichi relationship, the formation and activation of Okinawan communities were essential to the maintenance, revitalization, and construction of Okinawan culture and identity in Hawai'i. Okinawans migrated to Hawai'i with their culture,



and their descendants maintained their cultural heritage through Okinawan organizations, social clubs, cultural groups, and families (Miyasaki, 1981). Okinawans who were involved in businesses played a key role in forming relationships among Okinawans, which contributed to the development of the community infrastructure from 1924 to 1941 (Atta & Atta, 1981). The basis of the Okinawan communities in Hawai‘i included locality clubs, such as *shijinkai*, *chōjinkai*, *sonjinkai*, *azajinkai*, *doshikai*, and clubs on the neighbor islands (Adaniya, 1981a; Kimura, 1968). *Shi*, or city, *chō*, or town, *son*, or village, are the designations of the administrative divisions in Okinawa and Japan, and *aza* is the designation of the divisions within *shi*, *chō*, and *son*. *Doshi* means people with common interests and aspirations. *Jinkai* means people’s club or group. These locality clubs are preceded by the name of Okinawa’s city, town, village, or *aza* from which the immigrants came. Many of them were established during the prewar period. These locality clubs were places where Okinawans helped each other and fostered their morale and a sense of unity, which enabled them to cope with ostracism from the other groups (Kimura, 1962/1981).

The United Okinawan Association of Hawaii (UOA) was established in September 1951 out of the need to organize relief aids for Okinawa where the living conditions were devastated due to the Battle of Okinawa (Adaniya, 1981b). The Association functioned as a congress of the locality clubs. One of their roles was to organize cultural activities that promoted Okinawan identity and pride. The Association continued to function as an all-Okinawan organization for a long time partly because of strong Okinawan identity. Although the locality clubs provided a sense of unity and collective identity within the clubs, a pan-Okinawan identity emerged after the UOA’s organization of the locality clubs (Arakaki, 2002). From the 1980s onward, Okinawan communities became more active due to (a) generation change from nisei to sansei and yonsei;

(b) civil rights movements in the 1960s and 1970s, and their influences on awareness of ethnic identity and interests in their roots among sansei; (c) Okinawans' economic and social advancement; and (d) the relationship with Okinawa Prefecture (Shiramizu, 1998). Activities in the Okinawan communities promoted Uchinaanchu spirit, interests in Okinawan culture, pride of being Uchinaanchu, and acquisition of Okinawan cultural symbols, which Shiramizu called the Uchinaanchu Movement.

Ueunten (2007) pointed out the revival of the Okinawan community and identity. He analyzed the network composed of people who were involved in the process of Okinawan cultural production, which he called the Okinawan ethnic community, and discussed its role in the "Okinawan Renaissance" in Hawai'i from the 1980s onward and its relation to the resurgence of Okinawan identity in Hawai'i. Hawai'i-born Okinawans and Okinawan cultural performers played an important role in the Okinawan ethnic community: Hawai'i-born Okinawans produced and diffused "Okinawan culture," which was more discursive and symbolic culture than lived one, and those in the key positions in Okinawan organizations provided opportunities for Okinawan cultural performers to make the symbols of Okinawan identity visible to wider populations. Although Okinawans at one time felt shamed and stigmatized for their heritage, nisei and sansei Okinawans became interested in and expressed their Okinawan identity from the late 1970s onward. Sansei and yonsei Okinawans reclaimed their Okinawan identity through their engagement in and the influence of the Okinawan ethnic community. Okinawans achieved the recognition of their Okinawan culture and identity in Hawai'i.

The Okinawan Festival started in 1982 and continues to be held. Shiramizu (2013) considered the Okinawan Festival as one of the Okinawan cultural movements in Hawai'i. The Hawaii United Okinawa Association (HUOA, formerly known as the UOA) organizes the

festival. The HUOA is composed of 50 member clubs, including more than 40,000 members, and is a non-profit organization aiming to promote, perpetuate, and preserve Okinawan culture (The Hawaii United Okinawa Association, n.d.). Visitors can enjoy music and dance performances, learn about culture and history at cultural booths, eat and drink at foods tents, purchase t-shirts and other products, and experience the atmosphere that the festival volunteers forge. The HUOA created the festival to unite Okinawans' hearts in order to form, preserve, and strengthen Okinawan identity, and to provide a space where Okinawans can interact with one another in order to construct, maintain, and bolster social relationships (Shiramizu, 2006). Shiramizu (2013) pointed out that the main three social functions of the festival were to (a) heighten group consciousness and cohesiveness, (b) transfer traditional arts, and (c) fundraise. The leaders who organized the festival played a role as transformative agents that "have a wide-reaching influence that affects not only their ethnic cultures but also local cultures and other larger paradigms" (Shiramizu, 2013, p. 21). The Okinawan Festival itself is a huge space for the representation of Okinawan ethnicity (Shiramizu, 2015). The elements of Okinawan culture, such as music and dance on the stage, and foods and exhibitions in tents and booths in the festival are all the media representing Okinawan ethnicity.

Other ways of representing Okinawa in public spaces can be indicative of presence, visibility, and recognition of Okinawans among people in Hawai'i. Shiota (2004) discussed the construction of Okinawan society and culture in Hawai'i by examining exhibitions in a museum and cultural facilities as immigrants' "stories." The exhibitions function to maintain memories of individuals, families, and groups within communities, and to pass on these memories to the next generation. The exhibitions represent interactions of immigrants' past, present, and future. Okinawans and Japanese in Hawai'i established their own cultural facilities, and residents in

Hawai‘i recognize cultural differences between Okinawa and Japan. Examples of these facilities include the Hawaii Okinawa Center and the Maui Okinawa Cultural Center. Even in the Bishop Museum and Hawaii’s Plantation Village that are general exhibition facilities that Hawai‘i residents and tourists visit, Okinawa is displayed in a way of being distinguished from Japan. Hawaii’s Plantation Village displays an Okinawan house along with other ethnic groups’ houses. These facilities may reflect the presence of Okinawans in Hawai‘i.

Other examples of representations of Okinawa can be foods, media, and community-based meetings. Okinawan foods appeared in some restaurants and events in the 1970s and 1980s, and selling Okinawan foods as cultural symbols was instrumental in the formation of “Okinawan” as an ethnic group (Asai, 2001). The two cookbooks titled *Okinawan Cookery Book* (1975) and *Okinawan Mixed Plate* (2000) published and sold in Hawai‘i by Hui O Laulima, a group formed by Okinawan nisei women in 1968, contributed to the formation of ethnic identity as Okinawans in Hawai‘i (Satō, 2008). Some radio stations in Hawai‘i broadcasted programs featuring Okinawa (Miyasaki, 1981). The HUOA has their own website and publish their official bi-monthly newsletter titled *Uchinanchu*, to disseminate information about communities’ events, stories, messages, and celebrations. Ukwanshin Kabudan, a non-profit and Ryukyu performing arts troupe, produced and held a weekend-long yearly event titled the LooChoo<sup>24</sup> Identity Summit from 2015 to 2018 on Maui, O‘ahu, and Hawai‘i Island, with the certain themes for each summit (Ukwanshin Kabudan, n.d.). The participants learned about and discussed identity, responsibility, hopes and aspirations for the future, and language through the panel and small group discussions, performances, and interactions.

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<sup>24</sup> LooChoo, the Okinawan pronunciation for Ryukyu, is used to refer to all islands of Ryukyu (Ukwanshin Kabudan, n.d.).

As shown above, many Okinawans migrated to Hawai‘i in the early 20th century and have lived their lives in Hawai‘i. They formed communities for mutual help. Okinawans in Hawai‘i restored their pride, history, culture, and identity through the experiences of the Okinawan–Naichi relationship and discrimination against Okinawans. The UOA/HUOA functioned as an umbrella organization of clubs and associations related to Okinawa, and played a crucial role in perpetuating Okinawan culture. The late 20th century was the time when Okinawan communities became more active in cultural activities, and resurgence of Okinawan pride and identity across generations emerged. The representations of Okinawa appeared in public spaces, such as the festival, museum, cultural facilities, foods, media, and community-based meetings.

These Okinawan experiences in Hawai‘i elucidate the constructed concepts of “being more Okinawan in Hawai‘i.” Okinawan university and college students in Hawai‘i had chances to interact with people of Okinawan ancestry (“interactions with Okinawan descendants”) because Okinawans had immigrated to the islands. People in Hawai‘i in general recognized Okinawans as a distinct group from the Japanese (“people’s recognition of Okinawans”) possibly due to the resurgence of Okinawan pride and identity as well as the emergences of the representations of Okinawa in public spaces. These interactions and people’s recognition of Okinawans can contribute to students’ self-identification as Okinawan in Hawai‘i. Some Okinawans and non-Okinawans formed, maintained, and engaged in these communities, events, and activities where students could also participate and involve in (“participating/involving in Okinawan communities” and “participating/involving in Okinawan events and activities”). Through activities and learning in these spaces, students became more conscious of their Okinawan identity. It is possible that the more students self-identified as Okinawan and were

involved in Okinawan activities and learning, the stronger their Okinawan identity became. It can be said that without people and communities that strove to maintain, revitalize, and disseminate Okinawan culture, which contributed to resurgence of Okinawan identity and people's recognition of Okinawa in Hawai'i, Okinawan university and college students' Okinawan identity development would not have happened, or would not have been as much as shown in the current research. In other words, developed and sustained well-being of Okinawan communities in Hawai'i by peoples' efforts throughout the history influenced students' Okinawan identity development in Hawai'i in direct and indirect ways.

### **Learning About Hawai'i: Similarities, Comparison, and Reflection**

Okinawan university and college students had opportunities to learn about Hawai'i. They did so through a variety of activities, including coursework on their campus, interactions with Hawaiians, field trips, and the like. They learned about Hawaiian history, culture, society, and politics, and became aware of similarities and compared situations in Hawai'i to those in Okinawa. Hawai'i and Okinawa, both island groups, used to be kingdoms that were invaded and colonized by, and incorporated into larger landmasses called "the mainland," namely the United States and Japan, respectively (Okihiro, 2006). Peoples in their island groups experienced struggles for reclamation of culture, language, identity, history, sovereignty, and self-determination (Okihiro, 2006). Chinen (2000) suggested the similarities between Hawai'i and Okinawa in terms of population, area, location, island state, island kingdom, last king, economy, and World War II experience. I reviewed the literature on Hawaiian history, politics, and education and Okinawans' indigeneity to make similarities between Hawai'i and Okinawa clear, and discuss how Okinawan university and college students could compare Hawai'i and Okinawa and reflect on Okinawa's situation.

As shown in the sections about a brief history of Ryukyu/Okinawa and identities in Ryukyu/Okinawa, Ryukyu/Okinawa experienced external intrusion, interference, and intervention (i.e., Satsuma, *bakufu*/Japan, the U.S. military), and this affected Okinawa's identities and society. Experiences and consequences of external intrusion, interference, and intervention in Hawai'i resulted in the depopulation of Hawaiians from foreign diseases<sup>25</sup> as well as growing influences of missionaries, Christianity, Calvinists, capitalism, Western laws, and businessmen in the 19th century (Kame'elehiwa, 1992; Osorio, 2002). These changes brought about political, religious, social, and legal transformations, including (a) the traditional system of communal tenure to private ownership, (b) the relationship between Hawaiians and their lands, (c) the rulership, (d) immigration, (e) Hawaiian society and sovereignty, and (f) the meaning of identity and belonging among Hawaiians (Kame'elehiwa, 1992; Osorio, 2002). Descendants of missionaries and other settlers from the United States and Europe pressured King Kalākaua for a reciprocity treaty (Silva, 2004). Not only did the Reciprocity Treaty of 1875 not benefit Native Hawaiians (Tate, 1968), it drove the autonomous, self-directed, and somewhat self-sustaining economy in Hawai'i to malfunction (Kent, 1983/1993).

Missionary sons and grandsons imposed the Bayonet Constitution upon the king, leading to the 1893 government overthrow and the 1898 annexation, while Kanaka Maoli<sup>26</sup> resisted those events (Lili'uokalani, 1898/2018; Silva, 2004). Due to the overthrow and annexation, Hawaiians

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<sup>25</sup> Stannard (1989) modestly estimated a population of Hawai'i as about 800,000 in the year of 1778 Western contact, and a depopulation ratio of about 17 to 1 between 1778 and 1878. The population of Hawaiians declined to less than 48,000, a century following the contact. He discussed the decline of Hawaiians' population caused by diseases that Westerners brought to Hawai'i.

<sup>26</sup> Silva (2004) used the term "Kanaka Maoli" for Hawaiian person/people. "Kanaka" refers to "person," or by itself means "Hawaiian" especially when in comparison with haole, or foreigner. "Maoli" refers to "real, true, original, and indigenous."

became a conquered people with American citizenship that was unilaterally conferred under American control, and were displaced and dispossessed in their own country in terms of their identity, lands, and culture subjected to another nation (Trask, 1999). The Organic Act signed in 1900 and subsequent laws of the U.S. Territory of Hawai‘i mandated the English language as the medium of government business and school settings, and the myth that their abandonment of the Hawaiian language would create future prosperity spread among Hawaiians (Warner, 2013). What followed instead was a loss of the Hawaiian language, as well as experiences, knowledge, culture, and traditions related to the language.

Oppression and exploitation of Hawaiians caused by increasing capitalism in the 20th century brought haole domination from 1893 onward and increasing political power of those of Japanese ancestry from 1954 onward, which psychologically and politically affected Hawaiians (Trask, 1984). In the 1970s and 1980s, modern Hawaiians became more aware of their history, culture, and domination of Western values and institutions. Hawaiians began to resist the suppression and commercialization of Hawaiian culture, and the land-related issues, such as military occupation, evictions, and commercial development of sacred sites. In addition, this increased consciousness brought about renewed interest in Hawaiian arts and culture, such as ancient hula and Hawaiian language, leading to a pursuit of the spiritual source of Hawaiian culture and to awareness of the importance of the land for their culture (Trask, 1984).

Although the details were quite different, the situations of Hawai‘i and Okinawa are similar in terms of external intrusion, interference, and intervention that led to colonization, deprivation of sovereignty, oppression, cultural degradation, assimilation, militarization, and inequality. The Okinawan university and college students may reflect on Okinawa’s situation by learning about Native Hawaiians’ suffering from colonial suppression and domination, as well as



their efforts, struggles, and success for resurgence of Hawaiian culture, heritage, and language, and their movements for political and sovereign rights. Students may have opportunities to see Hawaiians striving to revitalize, maintain, and express their culture and identity, and these experiences may influence the students to think about what they could do for Okinawa's society. The process of comparison and reflection may serve as an impetus for Okinawan consciousness and identity salience and development.

One student mentioned the similarities in the educational contexts of Hawaiians, Native Americans, and Okinawans, and thought that the ideas from an educational program designed for Hawaiians could be applied to the Okinawa's situation. As shown in Chapter 1, the Japanese educational system has influenced Okinawa since Japan's annexation of Ryukyu. Goodyear-Ka'ōpua (2013) provided a brief overview of public education in the Hawaiian Kingdom. In the early years of schooling in Hawai'i, schooling was not always a part of a settler state system, and missionaries did not simply impose it upon Hawaiians. Rather, Kanaka teachers collaborated with settlers to building literacy and a school system, and the Kanaka king and leaders recognized education as crucial for a modern Hawaiian nationhood. Hawaiian-medium instruction and common schools coexisted with English-medium schools. However, with the increase in economic and political power among haole sugar barons and financiers in the late 1870s and early 1880s and due to the rise in funding for English-language schools and cutting funding from Hawaiian-language common schools, white supremacist and assimilationist schooling became predominant. Moreover, the suppression of Hawaiian political sovereignty at the end of the 19th century and the U.S. occupation of Hawai'i in 1893 led to the assimilatory and occupying educational system that reinforced a plantation economy, legitimized American settler colonialism, and reproduced an unequal society.

School policy and activity after the 1893 overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy were characterized by (a) centralization of the school structure; (b) values of efficiency and quality; (c) Americanization; (d) a lack of sensitivity to cultures, including Hawaiian culture; (e) English-only policies; and (f) English Standard Schools (Benham & Heck, 1998). These features affected Native Hawaiians' social and economic status. With the advent of the Hawaiian cultural movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Native Hawaiian groups contributed to the development of Hawaiian educational programs. They succeeded in infusing Hawaiian culture and language studies into the schools' curriculum in the 1970s and 1980s, leading eventually to the establishment of Hawaiian immersion schools (Benham & Heck, 1998). In the first decades of the 21st century, Hawaiian culture-based charter schools emerged, at the intersection of the Hawaiian nationalist movement and the U.S. charter school movement, as alternatives to the mainstream school system in the historical and contemporary conditions of settler colonialism (Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, 2013).

If Okinawan university and college students learn about the infiltration of assimilatory educational system into education in Hawai'i, which is similar to the context of Okinawa, they may reflect on what they can do for Okinawa's education by witnessing historical, social, and political struggles and progress in schools and programs that promoted and revitalized Hawaiian culture and language. Awareness of similarities in educational history between Hawai'i and Okinawa in terms of domination of the mainstream education, and reflection on what is lacking in Okinawa, such as culture-based schools and programs, can be elements stimulating Okinawan identity.

The results also suggested that Okinawan students' learning about Hawai'i may promote their thinking about a possibility of Okinawans as indigenous people. Uemura (2003) claimed

that Okinawans are indigenous people based on Cobo's (1987) definition that was adopted by the United Nations bodies and indigenous people's organizations. The following is the definition Uemura (2003) summarized:

(1) having historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial society; (2) considering themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies; (3) forming at present non-dominant sectors of the society; and (4) being determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories and their ethnic identities. (p. 107)

In October 2008 in Geneva, the United Nations Human Rights Committee expressed their concern about the Japanese state's non-recognition of Okinawans as indigenous people:

The State party should expressly recognize the Ainu and Ryukyu/Okinawa as indigenous peoples in domestic legislation, adopt special measures to protect, preserve and promote their cultural heritage and traditional way of life, and recognize their land rights. It should also provide adequate opportunities for Ainu and Ryukyu/Okinawa children to receive instruction in or of their language and about their culture, and include education on Ainu and Ryukyu/Okinawa culture and history in the regular curriculum. (United Nations, 2009, p. 35)

In their concluding observations adopted in August 2014, the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination recommended that,

the State party review its position and consider recognizing the Ryukyu as indigenous peoples and take concrete steps to protect their rights. The Committee also recommends that the State party enhance its consultations with Ryukyu representatives on matters related to the promotion and protection of Ryukyu rights. The Committee further recommends that the State party speed up the implementation of measures adopted to

protect the Ryukyuan languages from risk of disappearance, facilitate the education of the Ryukyu people in their own language and include their history and culture in textbooks used in school curricula (p. 8).

In response to this recommendation, the Japanese government expressed their understanding of Okinawa's unique culture and tradition over a long history, but recognized only the Ainu people as indigenous because understanding of Okinawans as "indigenous people" was not widespread in Japan (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2016).

Indigeneity of Okinawans has been a contested topic in the political arena. By learning about Hawai'i, the place where Native Hawaiians reside and assert their indigeneity, Okinawan university and college students may become aware of and pay attention to the possibility of Okinawans as indigenous people, and explore their indigeneity. This may influence their Okinawan identity.

### **Vygotsky's Concept of Development and the Funds of Identity Approach to Identity and Learning**

**Okinawan identity development mediated by the funds of Okinawan identity in Hawai'i.** In this section, I discuss how Okinawan identity among Okinawan university and college students developed possibly through mediations of funds of identity. Tools and signs function as means of mediating cultural development (Vygotsky, 1978, 1997; Vygotsky & Luria, 1993). In regard to the concept of funds of identity,

funds of identity include objects, activities, or people who are part of our experience, that is, whatever and whoever might be considered as meaningful to us. In other words, each individual's particular funds of identity are like a box of tools that can be used to define him- or herself. (Esteban-Guitart, 2016, p. 48)

Esteban-Guitart (2016) also described five types of identity: (a) social funds of identity, or people or significant others; (b) institutional funds of identity, or structures and mechanisms of social order; (c) geographical funds of identity, or lands, regions, and landscapes; (d) cultural funds of identity, or artifacts; and (e) practical funds of identity, or significant activities.

As shown in the section of Okinawans in Hawai‘i, Okinawans and non-Okinawans in Hawai‘i have striven to maintain Okinawan culture and identity, which has made Okinawans recognizable and distinct from the Japanese. The establishment, cultivation, resurgence, and maintenance of Okinawan communities, events, culture, and identity can be considered as tools that altered the environment to foster people’s recognition of Okinawans in Hawai‘i and generate Okinawan pride and identity among Okinawans. After Okinawan university and college students came and lived in Hawai‘i, they interacted with people of Okinawan ancestry and non-Okinawans in Hawai‘i (social funds of identity), and realized that these people recognized Okinawans. Through interactions, they had more chances to self-identify as Okinawan and experienced a heightened sense of Okinawan consciousness and identity. They also had opportunities to participate and involve in Okinawan communities, events, and activities (social, cultural, and practical funds of identity), where they expressed their Okinawan identity, shared their culture, and felt pride and confidence in their Okinawan identity.

These Okinawan communities, events, and activities could function as the funds of Okinawan identity in Hawai‘i. People of Okinawan ancestry and non-Okinawans fostered and maintained Okinawan culture, whether it was discursive and symbolic culture or lived one. Mediated by the funds of Okinawan identity in Hawai‘i, or tools and signs that were historically accumulated, culturally developed, and socially distributed, Okinawan university and college students might define and express themselves as Okinawan. Students were likely to be more

Okinawan in the process of internalizing these signs through the mediation of interactions with people in Hawai‘i, artifacts, and activities, making their Okinawan consciousness and identity more salient.

Tools and signs are essential in mediating the process of Okinawan identity development in Hawai‘i, operating as higher psychological functions. This is a historically, socially, culturally, and politically mediated phenomenon, not an innate or genetic one. Okinawan university and college students self-identified as Okinawan, and explored things Okinawan through activities, learning, interactions, and experiences in Hawai‘i. They might have become aware of and maintained their Okinawan identity by immersing themselves in, cultivating, and preserving spaces to be Okinawan, by using tools, which might have resulted in assisting other Okinawans to develop their Okinawan identity.

Learning about Hawai‘i provoked awareness of the similarities between Hawai‘i and Okinawa, leading Okinawan university and college students to compare the situations of Hawai‘i and Okinawa and to reflect on Okinawan society. Hawai‘i, once an independent kingdom, experienced external intrusion, interference, and intervention that caused depopulation of Hawaiians, deprivation of political power and lands, and ultimately, an illegal overthrow and annexation. Native Hawaiians rose up against settler domination, oppression, and colonialism, and strove to reclaim their Hawaiian culture, heritage, and sovereignty especially from the 1970s onward. This political and cultural movement rippled through education. Educational programs for Hawaiians, Hawaiian immersion schools, and Hawaiian charter schools emerged to revitalize their culture, language, and identity through education.

In this historical, social, cultural, and political context of Hawai‘i, learning about Hawaiians’ struggles against injustice and efforts to regain what was suppressed and deprived

(cultural and practical funds of identity) may have mediated Okinawan consciousness and identity salience and development, functioning as funds of Okinawan identity in Hawai‘i. Students might have noticed similarities, internalized them, and compared and reflected on Okinawa’s situation through the mediation of interactions with Hawaiians and learning about Hawai‘i (social, cultural, and practical funds of identity). Students may have felt prouder, expressed their Okinawan identities, generated more connections to Okinawa, learned more about Okinawan history and culture, recognized the importance of ancestors, and thought about Okinawans’ indigeneity, influencing their Okinawan identity.

**Learning in the funds of identity approach.** Viewing learning through the funds of identity approach can be helpful to understand Okinawan students’ learning in Hawai‘i and its relation to identity. The following are the six guiding principles of learning in the funds of identity approach: (a) microcultural nature of learning, (b) macrocultural nature of learning, (c) contextualization, (d) identity investment, (e) distributed and networked nature of learning, and (f) social and instrumental mediation (Esteban-Guitart, 2016). As part of their learning, Okinawan university and college students immersed themselves in funds of Okinawan identity that scattered around Hawai‘i microculturally (e.g., interactions with Okinawan descendants, Hawaiians, and people in Hawai‘i) and macroculturally (e.g., university, college, educational programs, field trips, and Okinawan communities in Hawai‘i). The people and historical and cultural artifacts used in their learning operated as forms of social and cultural mediation. Students’ learning was situated not only at a university or college environment but also outside of the university or college (e.g., Okinawan communities, the Okinawan Festival, field trips to learn about Hawai‘i), and connected learning experiences in formal and informal settings (distributed and networked nature of learning). They utilized their prior knowledge, as a way to

contextualize learning, when they learned about Okinawa and compared it to the situation in Hawai‘i (contextualization). By learning in these sociocultural ways, Okinawan university and college students may have self-identified as Okinawan more often and the intensity of their Okinawan consciousness and identity salience may have become higher than it used to be in Okinawa. It may be that the more they experienced self-identification as Okinawan as well as Okinawan consciousness and identity salience, the stronger their Okinawan identity became. This self-identification as Okinawan, Okinawan consciousness and identity salience, and strengthened sense of Okinawa identity through the funds of Okinawan identity in Hawai‘i depicted a psychological phenomenon of “being more Okinawan in Hawai‘i.”

### **Limitations, Future Research, and Educational Implication**

While the research elucidated the process of Okinawan identity development among Okinawan university and college students in Hawai‘i, there are some limitations to be noted. Although I noticed that some concepts (e.g., people’s recognition of Okinawans, interactions with Okinawan descendants) were well explained, further investigation is necessary for other concepts (e.g., reflection on Okinawa through similarities between Hawai‘i and Okinawa, comparison between Hawai‘i and Okinawa). Further investigation can be to examine exactly what they compared between Hawai‘i and Okinawa, exactly how comparisons and similarities between Hawai‘i and Okinawa enabled Okinawan university and college students to reflect on Okinawa, and exactly how their reflection influenced their Okinawan identity. These inquiries can guide future research to deepen a Hawai‘i-specific aspect of influences on Okinawan consciousness and identity.

I also note that while I found some new spaces, such as Hui Okinawa, the Okinawan Festival, Uchinanchu Talk Story, and the film event, I do not claim that this is a comprehensive



list of where Okinawan consciousness and identity become salient. It is possible that there are other spaces to be found. In addition, the results indicated that the length of stay in Hawai'i may not be an indicator for a strengthened sense of Okinawan identity development. It is probable that there may be confounding variables. Quantitatively examining possible influential variables, such as frequency of self-identification as Okinawan in Hawai'i and intensity of Okinawan consciousness and identity salience, may be helpful in understanding the process of Okinawan identity development in Hawai'i. Moreover, there is a possibility that we could see this psychological phenomenon of Okinawan consciousness and identity salience and development on the Island of Hawai'i. One participant shared her experience of involving in an Okinawan community and learning about Hawai'i on the Island of Hawai'i, and its impact on her Okinawan identity. However, because she was the only participant who experienced that island, further research needs to be done to explore if we can observe the phenomenon of being more Okinawan in Hawai'i on the Island of Hawai'i and other neighbor islands. Thus, I do not claim that I fully developed the theory of Okinawan consciousness and identity salience and development among Okinawan university and college students in Hawai'i. However, I believe that the research adequately produced the constructed concepts to describe the phenomenon.

Moreover, the discussion of Vygotsky's concept of development and the funds of identity approach to identity and learning was limited because I employed the grounded theory as the research methods and methodology for this study. By following one of the main principles of the grounded theory, I did not intend to utilize any extant concepts and theories, such as Vygotsky's concept of development and the concept of funds of identity, for data collection and analysis. However, I discussed Vygotsky's concept of development and identity and learning in the funds of identity approach in order to situate the study results in the research areas of development,

identity, and learning in a sociocultural perspective. As some scholars (Miller, 2014; Kozulin, 2014; Toomela, 2014) suggested that it is important to articulate an appropriate method, methodology, and assessment for research of cultural-historical psychology, originated in the work of Vygotsky. Employing a cultural-historical method and methodology, and operationalizing concepts in the cultural-historical theory, such as development, tools, signs, internalization, inner speech, consciousness, experience, and zone of proximal development will be helpful to conduct another research to explore aspects of Vygotsky's concept of development in the process of Okinawan identity development in Hawai'i. In a similar vein, other research focusing on an investigation and detection of Okinawan funds of identity in Hawai'i may utilize a multimethodological approach of funds of identity, that is, qualitative strategies and techniques, including self-portrait, photos, and biographical diaries in addition to interviews, as Esteban-Guitart (2016) proposed.

There were some limitations mentioned above in this research and further study is still necessary because identity is not static but fluid, situational, and in the making in space and time. However, I believe that the research results of the core category of "being more Okinawan in Hawai'i" intertwined with the other concepts demonstrated the process of a more Hawai'i-specific phenomenon of Okinawan identity development among Okinawan university and college students in Hawai'i, which was analyzed at the micro level and discussed at the macro level.

Future studies can also explore what happens after participants complete their degrees and programs. It would be informative to examine how many of them went back to Okinawa and whether their strengthened sense of Okinawan identity was beneficial to Okinawa's society. I am

interested in knowing whether the participants' Okinawan identities changed after they returned to Okinawa, and if so, in what ways.

Lastly, an educational implication derived from this research is the promotion and establishment of an educational program for Okinawan identity development in Okinawa. According to Zuckerman (2014), “[t]he education system promotes and supports certain opportunities for development and at the same time inevitably weakens the potential for development of alternative tendencies” (p. 199). As Okinawa’s education has been under the Japanese educational system, it is likely that opportunities and potential for Okinawans to develop their Okinawan identity in the educational system have been limited and suppressed, and an alternative education is necessary for the purpose of Okinawan identity development through education. Although it is impossible to apply the constructed concepts in this research directly to Okinawa’s situation due to differences in experiences and environments, some of the concepts may be useful or can at least serve as clues for the formation of an educational program for Okinawan identity development. An example may be to create spaces where people in Okinawa can learn about Okinawan histories, cultures, societies, and politics in Okinawa as well as in Hawai‘i and around the world. Another example is learning about Hawai‘i and other communities that have experienced external intrusion, interference, and intervention that led to colonization, deprivation of sovereignty, oppression, cultural degradation, assimilation, militarization, and inequality. It may be helpful to learn how such groups strove and struggled for and succeeded in revitalization and restoration of their cultures, traditions, identities, pride, lands, equity, sovereignty, autonomy, and independence. Although it is likely that this learning will be limited due to a lack of physical presence in Hawai‘i and other regions, and of interactions with people of Okinawan ancestry, Hawaiians, and locals in Hawai‘i, as well as

historically oppressed groups, such educational opportunities may be helpful for people in Okinawa to compare, contrast, and reflect on Okinawa's situation, which could mediate Okinawan identity development.

## **Appendix A**

### **Interview Guide**

#### **General Identity Questions**

1. Please tell me about yourself.
2. How do you introduce yourself to others?
3. Please tell me what you are not.
4. Do you describe yourself as an Okinawan, Japanese, Asian, or other group member?
  - a. Why?
  - b. To whom?
  - c. What contexts?
  - d. Did this change over time? Please explain.
  - e. What do you think Okinawan identity is for you?
  - f. What do you think Japanese identity is for you?
5. What other aspects of your identity do you think are important?
6. What is the most important aspect of your identity for you? Why?

#### **Activities and Learning**

\* In my research, activities include practicing cultural musical instruments and dance, visiting historical and cultural sites and places, celebrating and commemorating certain days, and other activities. Learning involves learning about history, social events and issues, politics, and cultures through books, classes, teachers, friends, workshops, and other opportunities.

#### **Questions Regarding Activities and Learning that Provoked Okinawan Consciousness**

1. What kinds of activities and learning that provoked Okinawan consciousness did you participate in Hawai'i?
  - a. Did you have any chance to interact with local Okinawans through activities and learning?
  - b. When did you join these activities and learning?
2. How often did you participate in these activities and learning?
3. What do you think you learned from these activities and learning?
4. How do you think these activities and learning functioned for you?

5. How did you feel when you participated in these activities and learning?
6. Do you think these activities and learning helped you to learn about Okinawa? Could you explain in detail?
7. Did these activities and learning influence your Okinawan identity? Could you explain in detail?
  - a. Did you experience any identity crisis or question about your identity through these activities and learning?

### **Questions Regarding Activities and Learning about Hawai‘i**

1. What kinds of activities and learning did you participate in to learn about the historical, social, political, and cultural aspects of Hawai‘i in Hawai‘i? Could you explain in detail?
  - a. When did you start learning about the historical, social, political, or cultural aspects of Hawai‘i?
2. How often did you involve in these activities and learning of the historical, social, political, or cultural aspects of Hawai‘i?
3. What do you think you learned from these activities and learning of the historical, social, political, and cultural aspects of Hawai‘i?
4. Did you have any chance to interact with Hawaiians through these activities and learning?
5. How do you think these activities and learning about Hawai‘i functioned for you?
6. How did you feel when you involved in these activities and learning about Hawai‘i?
7. Do you think these activities and learning about Hawai‘i helped you to learn about Okinawa? Could you explain in detail?
8. Did these activities and learning about Hawai‘i influence your Okinawan identity?
  - a. Could you explain in detail?
  - b. Did you experience any identity crisis or question about your identity, when you were involved in these activities and learning about Hawai‘i? Could you explain in detail?
9. Hawai‘i as a large context
  - a. How has Hawai‘i, as a large context, influenced your Okinawan identity?
  - b. Do you think living in Hawai‘i and being away from Okinawa influenced your Okinawan identity? Could you explain in detail?
    - a. Do you think this could have been different if you lived not in Hawai‘i but Japan, the continental U.S., or other places? Could you explain in detail?
  - c. Did you experience any identity crisis or question about your identity due to the influence of Hawai‘i on your Okinawan identity? Could you explain in detail?

## Appendix B

### Survey

#### Demographic Information

1. Age \_\_\_\_\_
2. Gender \_\_\_\_\_
3. Ethnicity \_\_\_\_\_
4. Earned Academic Degree and Major \_\_\_\_\_
5. Occupation \_\_\_\_\_

#### Identity Survey

1. To what degree do you think you are Okinawan?  
Weak ( 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 ) Strong
2. To what degree do you think you are Japanese?  
Weak ( 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 ) Strong
3. To what degree do you think you are other ethnicities? (if applicable)  
Weak ( 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 ) Strong (ethnicity: )  
Weak ( 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 ) Strong (ethnicity: )  
Weak ( 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 ) Strong (ethnicity: )

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